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THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, SEPTEMBER 2, 1850.

For the National Era.

LIFE.

BY CHARLES LIST.

The lines that in the flower shine
  Without its labor there have grown,
Like pilgrims kneeling round a shrine
  Called by its sanctity alone.
Not searching mines and caves with vows
  Those gems their fadeless beauty find,
That power arrays on kingly brows
  To flatter pride and awe mankind.

Not by some dark and cunning scheme
  Pursued with wearying toil and thought,
Not fancying in the idlest dream
  That fortune such a gift had brought,
That hill received its piny crest,
  That sunset cloud its purple robe,
Its dark blue veil the ocean's breast,
  Its silver armor yonder globe.

No finny Mentor needs the fish
  That, seeking food and pleasure, roves
Where nature grants him every wish,
  In sunny streams or coral groves.
The bird in all its tasks how skilled,
  Taught by no sage the use of spring,
No plumy Angelo to build,
  No warbling Mendelssohn to sing.

But not an easy task is life
  To him who sees in nature's plan,
With blessings half completed rife,
  The duty and the power of man;
That he to error's dark abyss,
  Or to the rays of wisdom's sun,
May sink in pain or rise in bliss,
  That life and universe are one.

When learning opens all her scrolls,
  Explaining each obscure device,
He sees how many worthy souls
  Have been delusion's sacrifice;
When science sets with stars his sky,
  And reason's lamp his path illumes,
He sees what gulfs around him lie,
  Of bright and cherished hopes the tombs:

Yet knows that love will turn to light,
  And generous deeds to costly gems,
To clothe us all in robes of white,
  And crown our brows with diadems;
That bards who sing in ecstasy
  Of happier homes in lands divine,
Tell faintly what the earth would be
  If man conformed to Heaven's design.

Then may he calmly seek his way
  Though thorny doubts before him rise,
And truth's obscure and struggling ray
  With feeble aid his feet supplies:
Angels his weary steps shall count,
  His thoughts and hopes shall heavenly grow,
His heart become a crystal fount
  Whence streams of joy shall ever flow.

For the National Era.

THE MASQUERADE OF S—— FORT.

A STORY OF THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

BY MARY IRVING.

In glancing over the quaint chronicles of the Indian wars, it is pleasant to turn from gory tales of savage cruelty, to the few instances where that cruelty was baffled. Pleasantest is such a story, heard by the fading coals of a winter fire, from the lips of some good old grandmamma. I have a friend, who is neither grandmother nor aunt; yet she tells me many a tale of the olden time. The incidents of the following story she heard from the lips of the principal heroine, who died at an advanced age, some thirty or forty years ago.

The Massachusetts colony, as it suffered first, also suffered most severely from the depredations of the savages. In the hill-country of its western frontier, their frequent surprisals and skirmishes left the settlers little quiet or peace of mind. Every town had its "fort," and for some years scarcely a season passed, when some alarm did not drive the inhabitants within its walls. The "getting into fort," as it used to be termed in letters of that day, came to be anticipated and provided for, almost as naturally as the "getting in" of the crops.

At one time, the settlers of the now pleasant village of S——, on account of some menacing demonstrations, had left their log-cabined farms, and intrenched themselves within their stronghold. There seemed no imminent danger; but it was a time of war, and they knew too well the risk of carelessness. They had remained there for several months, however, without being seriously molested, when their stock of provisions began to fall short. A council upon the affairs of the larder was forthwith held. The nearest point at which flour could be obtained was a fort distant a journey of a day and a half. To reach it, they must thread dark forests filled with hostile Indians. It was decided that the men should go in a body on the hazardous expedition, leaving the women and children unprotected for three days, but, as they trusted, safe. Accordingly they stole out, with muffled tread, just before the dawn of day, and marched off in solid phalanx, leaving, besides the boys and one trusty sentinel, only the old and the disabled of their sex to guard their choicest treasures. The day of their departure passed as idly and as tediously as days in the crowded fort were wont to pass. The sun at last sank lazily down the western slope of the sky, throwing shadow-mantles upon the forest trees that circled the fort around, at a safe distance.

The women were sauntering languidly within or about the barricades; and a group of boys and girls, the only things that seemed to retain the spirit of life, were playing at "hide and seek" among the unnumbered old chests, barrels, baskets, and bundles, that made up the joint stock of the community.

In a turreted, stuffed, arm chair, at one end of the principal room, sat a girlish-looking matron, whom you would have marked at once as an exotic flower in that hard soil. She was not wondrously beautiful, but slight, graceful, and fairy-like in face and figure, wearing that indefinable something that envelopes the true lady everywhere, be she crowned with a sun-bonnet or a coronet. As respects externals, she was dressed in the same coarse robes those around her wore; but a babe lay sleeping on her arm, and its 'broidered muslin frock was scarcely whiter than the hand that pressed it to its mother's breast. Lily of Massachusetts as she was, we will call her Lilien.

On a high bench by the window towered a perfect contrast to our lowly lily. The sunflower would have been fittest emblem of the tall, brown-featured and brown-haired woman, who sat wielding a giant needle—it could not be called sewing—against a huge rent in some soldier's habiliment. Peggy W. (you could never have convinced her of a claim to the swan-like name of Margaret) had a pair of eyes that flashed, rather than looked. They glanced always sidelong from a bristling array of guardian lashes, shaded by a brow dark as a hill-top against the twilight sky. One of these glances flashed upon Lilian, as she paused to knot her thread. The young mother was leaning upon the hard cushions of her chair, gazing dreamily through the port-hole of a window, on the thin clouds that scaled its "spot of sky."

"You're kind o' lonesome, hay?" inquired Miss W., in a condescending tone, as though she were addressing a child.

Lilian shook back a stray lock, and smiled a little anxiously.

"I could almost conjure up skulking Indians out of the shadows among those gnarled old trees yonder," she answered.

"Never speak of the Evil One, and he won't appear, child! You're scary—not used to being left without your husband. Now I—when father lived up country"—

She was going on to "wind a yarn," as sailors say, from her own tough experience; but the thread was snapped in the outset by the old sentinel, who just then stepped to the door, calling out—

"Mrs. L., here is old Fire-Arrow, for his tobacco again."

Old Fire-Arrow—his unpronounceable Indian name had been thus translated—was a trustworthy friend to the whites, and cherished a peculiarly grateful attachment toward Colonel L., the husband of Lilian.

Lilian laid her nursling carefully into its crib, stepped to a closet above the high mantel shelf, and taking down a sort of horn pouch, carved off with her delicate hand a huge quid of the precious weed.

"Don't let him in," added she, as she gave the parcel into the soldier's hand. Walking along to the wicker crib, she took her babe's tiny hand, and stood watching its lips, parting to every breath.

Suddenly Miss W. sprang up from her bench, dropping her work, with a half-suppressed scream of surprise or terror.

Before she could open her lips again, the door was burst ajar, and the old sentinel staggered in, with a fear-blanched face. "Oh God! have mercy upon us!" he ejaculated, unsteadily.

An electric shock of terror shot through the bosom of every timid listener, and all sprang up, pale and quivering—all but Peggy W., who, having recovered her momentarily lost self-possession, stepped before him with arms a-kimbo.

"Well!" what are you shaking here for?" she demanded, flashing her leopard-like glance on his bleaching countenance.

"The Indians!"

"I know it! I spied the dastardly skulkers behind yonder bush clump! But what said that copper-face outside?"

"We are the victims of a deep-laid plot," returned the old soldier. "The savages have waited for this opportunity. They have tracked our men, and they are to attack us to-night! God best knows our doom or our defence. I must not stay here!"

Sobs and shrieks drowned his departing footsteps. None heeded another in the first moment of that confused anguish.

"My God! my husband!" faltered Lilian, tottering to the cradle of her child. She sank to the floor with clasped hands, bowing her head upon them in a mother's agony and hopelessness.

"Hush! every mother's child of you!" rang out Miss W.'s shrill voice; and Lilian looked instinctively up to the only undaunted eye in the room.

"Silence, and up with you! You've something else to do than to sob away your senses in hysterics, to-night! Mrs. L., are you going to sit there and see your baby's brains dashed out against that chimney piece? I've neither chick nor child, thank Heaven! but if I had forty, they should see to-morrow's sun shine, please God!"

"God! our only hope is in Him!" gasped poor Lilien.

"Our hope is in the common sense He has given us, I tell you! We have not one moment to lose now. Friends, follow me!"

She sprang into the guard-room with an elastic bound, whose echo seemed to galvanize the whole throng of fainting ones behind her. This room was a small apartment, stocked with arms, and tapestried with the regimentals and clothes, new and old, of the garrison. A great part of its furniture had absented itself with its lawful owners; still a goodly array of garments and guns, such as they were, remained.

"Throw down the regimentals!" she cried, suiting the action to the word. All the old clothes, too—quick!" They obeyed her mechanically and wonderingly.

Now, *put them on!*" she commanded, briefly.

"Miss Peggy, what do you mean?"

"I mean to save our scalps," retorted the dauntless woman, while she buttoned the first officer's second best coat over her own broad chest.

"'Slow enough of understanding, are ye all!' Do you not comprehend, that if these fiends incarnate can be cheated into the belief that a part of our garrison has been left here, they will be likely to let us alone? You are to rig up instantly, and show yourselves in and about the fort. There is light enough yet to make ourselves visible to watching eyes."

Silently every woman fitted herself to the strange garments; it was not an hour for hesitation or for debate. Miss W., who strode about in the capacity of amateur valet, tossed a suit of a sailor's "Sunday wearing" to Lilian. "They'll *do* you"—she commented, with a measuring glance.

Timid Lilian's fingers trembled too violently to fasten the brass buttons of the sea-green jacket; and an instinctive blush bloomed in her white cheek, as Miss Peggy rudely seized her to assist.

"Follow me!" again spoke the intrepid leader. The old sentinel started, as the strange troop emerged from the inner room. He had been leaning on his firelock, in bewildered despair; and now he looked as though a new bewilderment had stricken him dumb.

"Throw your drum over your shoulders, and throw open the gates!" commanded the Colonel *pro. tem.*, in a short, sharp tone.

"This is folly, madness!" he ejaculated.

"You are not—you *cannot* march out against the enemy!"

"I am taking my garrison out to parade, do you comprehend, sir? and I am not in a mood to be trifled with!"

"But Miss Peggy, Miss W., if I understand you, why not show yourselves on the battlements; it would be safer and better."

"We will mount them after we have shown ourselves before the gateway. Lieut. L.! bring up the rear! Heads up! hearts firm, comrades! forget that you are women *this* hour! Now!"

She stepped outside the gate, and flourishing her rusty sword above her head, watched with piercing glance her out-coming troop. A motley assemblage it was indeed, a caricature of a masquerade, which, at any other time and place might have provoked a monk of La Trappe to a roar of merriment. "Tattered and torn garments," a "world to wide," hung loosely on the delicate figures they shrouded. Here a swordless scabbard heaved over a quick-beating side, there a trembling hand held up a flintless fire-lock. Stuffed soldiers caps shielded straying locks from betrayal, and slouched old hats drooped over faces too pale. Lilian L. stepped last over the threshold, with a glance behind her, and a second to the wood-circle around them. Her lips paled again, she reeled, and lowered her head.

"Fair lady and faint heart!" muttered the desperate leader, in a tone of smothered thunder; "will you betray all our scalps by fainting *now*? In with you!"

Lilian wavered an instant between fear and shame. The latter conquered; and, with head proudly raised and steps apparently firm, she followed. Yet that death-like faintness again ebbed to her heart as the shadows by the tree trunks seemed to take fresh life. They marched in as they had gone out, with beat of drum.

"Now to the battlements," added the conductor. "How many of you can fire off a gun?"

"Oh, dear! not I!"

"Oh, mercy! no!" exclaimed one and another, shrinkingly, as their General commenced loading a formidable-looking rifle.

"I can!" chirped a peony-cheeked lassie of fourteen, springing to her side. "I have shot a squirrel with my brother's musket!"

"And I," added an elderly lady, "have shot a wolf in the sheep pen when my husband was ill and ailing; but that was years ago."

"You can all do it," returned Miss W., putting her own weapon on the cook, and ordering all the serviceable arms to be taken down. "It is a matter of necessity now; we must give their ears a cannonading."

Has any of my lady readers ever attempted to handle a gun *really* loaded? And does she remember the thrill which the first touch of such deadly weapon poured over her nerves, before she ventured to actually pull the trigger, and start back in horror at her own audacity? Then can she realize the trembling of hand and limb, and the wavering of heart and nerve, when the discharge of a dozen guns pealed from the log-pillared battlements of that fort. It was enough. Twilight was fading, and night coming on. Woman's skill had done what human skill could do, and now to wait the issue! They went down.

"We must keep on this gear," remarked Miss W. "If we entertain unwelcome company to-night, it will do no harm in life, and it may bring us a world of good. Lie down about—those that can; for my own part, I watch to-night."

"I'm sure none of us 'll think of sleeping!" moaned one and another.

"Well, hush! don't fret your nerves; you may need them before morning, though I trust not. Andrew, (to the sentinel,) are the guns all loaded again?"

"Yes'm, and cocked."

"Is there not a barrel of tar in the out-room? Good."

"Yes'm."

"Have it ready to beat in a trice, Andrew!"

"Aye, aye, ma'am." He turned to go, but paused: "I hope it's no offence to you, ma'am, but I'd warn you that our dependence is not on any arm of flesh to-night. There's One on high who can hear and help?"

"You are right, good Andrew; we will commit ourselves to Him first." And all bent the knee, while she breathed up to Heaven such a prayer as the hour of danger teaches.

The night wore away. Its hours, intolerably, agonizingly long as they were, still passed at last. The moon rose soon after midnight, and looked in like an angel comforter upon the eyes that glared eagerly from every port hole. Had the savages awaited her signal torch? It was feared; but no, she continued to pour down unwavering shadows on the still grass.

The dawn of day lifted the dreadful burden of suspense—their lives were safe for long hours yet to come, and the reaction of feeling left most hearts weaker than in the first moments of terror. They thanked God, wept, prayed, clasped their children, and at length scattered themselves here and there, to relax their overstrained nerves in repose. Miss W. and a little vigilant band, among whom was our physically weak, but mentally courageous Lilian, kept watch and guard-mounted the barricades, and discharged their weapons occasionally with great firmness. Thus passed the day, and another night came on.

In the first watch of that night, nearly all the weary eyes had closed in slumber. Peggy W. sat alone, on the seat where we first saw her, straining her eyes to penetrate the dim veil of starlight; for the moon was not yet up. She had not closed those eyes for nearly forty hours; still their fire was not quenched, though the brow above them looked haggard with watching. Her cheek leaned upon the rough sleeve of the coarse coat she wore, her arm resting on the iron bars of the window.

"Aunt Peggy!" exclaimed an urchin with a head as white as the long gown he wore, stumbling along from the inner room; "Aunt Peggy, I want a drink of water!"

"Shut your head!" growled the amiable individual addressed. "Go back to bed!"

"I don't want to! I'm thirsty—my throat aches."

"Bless yourself that you have yet a throat to ache! In with you!"

The incipient "lord of creation" seemed in no haste to obey; for he rubbed his sleepy eyes with the sleeve of his night-gown, and "took an observation by the dim light of the tallow candle.

"I say," observed he, "you talk curious and you look funny enough. I think," he added, deliberately, "I shall call you *uncle* Peggy instead of Aunty!"

"Be off—young one—you!"

"But," persisted the provoking youngster; "when will you put on your gown and cap again, and be Aunty?"

A well-aimed stroke of the arm was here dodged by the skilful young gentleman, whom it frightened into a precipitate fit of obedience, if making the desired use of his heels might thus be construed. His aunt was in no haste to pursue him, however. Her ear had caught an ominous rustling in the woods.

"Ma'am!" spoke the sentinel under the window, in a muffled whisper.

"I hear!" she returned, in the same tone.

"Shall I wake them?"

"It may be foes, and it may be friends. If it's our men, they'll march straight up to us. Wait a bit."

And wait they did, breathlessly. The night was breezelessly still, the fall of a chesnut or the chirp of a squirrel in the forest might have been detected by their ears. The rustling grew more distinct, the trampling of many feet; but a stealthy trampling followed. Oh! for one gleam of moonlight! Miss W. turned to lay her hand upon the gun beside her, and stood like a statue.

Dark shadows now loomed up from the shadowy night; they increased in number—they seemed to form a line before the very gate—there they paused.

"I must hail them," murmured the sentinel.

"Do so," breathed Miss W.

"Friend or foe?" resolutely rang out his strong voice.

"Old boy, is that you?" responded the quick, agitated voice of one who sprang forward, while a deep groan, like "Thank God!" in true English accents, ran through the now broken line.

Col. L., for it was no other, darted past the sentinel, and stumbled against Miss W. in the dimly-lighted passage.

"How's this!" He started back at the apparition.

"Where's my brother?" cried our heroine, wildly.

"Your brother! where is my wife!"

They awaited no mutual answer, but each rushed onward to stem the living torrent that was pouring in from opposite directions, into that narrow passage. The awakened women, utterly heedless of their apparel, in the frenzy of their sudden safety, were rushing to meet their husbands, brothers, and fathers, who could ill recognise them. Col. L. shook every clinging hand away, and burst into the inner-room.

Lilian had lain down beside her babe, upon a straw pallet on the floor. The shrieks of surprise had just aroused and but half awakened her. She was lifting herself upon one elbow, with a countenance full of bewildered terror. The sea-blue sailor's jacket (for the night gave it a deeper hue) loosened, fell back from her white arm and neck; and her unbraided locks were falling in disorder over it.

The officer cast a sweeping glance over the apartment—he scarcely comprehended the whole; but she did. With a quick, incredulous cry, like one dreaming, she sprang forward, and fell at his feet.

"What—what's this!" he cried. "The voice is the voice of Lilian, but by all that is— A glass of water, somebody! ho there."

The whole throng poured into the apartment; the women laughing and sobbing hysterically; their sterner husbands not a whit more unmoved Strong men sat down like children, and wiped away big drops from their brown cheeks.

"But what is the matter?" exclaimed Miss W. "Pretty fine, this! If you're making women of yourselves, I'm thinking we'll keep on the regimentals! What is all this flummery about?"

"Was it flummery to dream that you were all murdered, butchered in cold blood, or carried into a captivity worse?" exclaimed Col. W., looking up from his charge. "The old Indian Fire-Arrow met us early on our return, with tidings of your peril, which he had risked his head to bring me."

"You might ha' known we could have taken care of ourselves!"

"We knew that Heaven alone could take care of you," solemnly replied the officer.

"And to Heaven give all the glory," added the rich voice of the minister, who stood beside him.

"What put this lucky disguise into your heads?"

"It was Miss W.'s thought," murmured Lilian from her husband's arm, her colorless cheek kindling into a warm glow, as she glanced from Col. L.'s eye to her page-like array. "She has the whole credit of the idea."

"We owe you more than our hearts can repay in words, Miss W.!" exclaimed the officer, seizing her hand with a vice-like grasp.

"You owe me—nothing at all! How you squeeze a body's fingers! I was only taking proper care of my own precious self. The worst fright was when you halted there before the gate. What possessed you to sneak along so like foxes?"

"What could we think, but that the enemy had garrisoned instead of burning our fort, when we found its walls yet standing! It seemed hoping against reason to dream of your successful resistance for an hour. It was running a perilous risk to venture here in the darkness; but we were desperate men last eve!"

"Well, we have kept the premises clear for you, you see!"

"What nerved you to such heroism?"

"Why, only a little common sense; and, moreover, I had a pretty stout *will* to live a while longer in this sinful world!"

"That is the 'lever that moves the world!'" smilingly spoke the minister.

"Aye, sir! a right hearty *will* always finds its way!"

Rest came down like a mantle upon relieved hearts that night, when the moon again climbed from the forest tops, up the clear, brightening heaven.

It was afterwards ascertained that the Indians had actually assembled from three different points, to make an attack upon the fort during the first night. But they were completely deceived by the masquerading heroines into the belief that a reinforcement had arrived, or that the garrison had been larger than their calculations. Accordingly, they deferred, as we have seen, their deadly attempt.

"Aunt Peggy W.," for she never changed a name which had won so much honor, lived to pass a good old age in our quiet times of "unromantic civilization." Somewhat of the romantic love of hazard lingered about her, however, for she persevered in tenanting, to the last, an old house whose timbers would scarcely hold together above her head, and which she was forced to leave in nights of violent wind or storm, for the safety of life and limb.

She went to her rest in the old kirk-yard, with the burden of more than eighty years bowing her once erect form; and peace to her memory.

For the National Era.

"DARE TO STAND ALONE."*

BY FRANCES D. GAGE.

Be firm, be bold, be strong, be true,
  "And dare to stand alone;"
Strive for the right, whate'er ye do,
  Though helpers there be none.

Nay—bend not to the swelling surge
  Of *popular* sneer and wrong
'Twill bear thee on to ruin's verge,
  With current wild and strong

Stand for the right. Humanity
  Implores, with groans and tears,
Thine aid to break the festering links
  That bind her toiling years.

Stand for the right. Though falsehood rail,
  And proud lips coldly sneer,
A *poisoned arrow* cannot wound
  A conscience pure and clear.

Stand for the right, and with clean hands
  Exalt the truth on high;
Thou'lt find warm, sympathising hearts
  Among the passers by.

Men who have *seen*, and thought and felt,
  Yet could not boldly dare
The battle's brunt, but by thy side
  Will every danger share.

Stand for the right; proclaim it loud,
  Thou'lt find an answering tone
In honest hearts, and thou no more
  Be doomed to stand alone.

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* Channing.

SPEECH OF HON. J. CROWELL,

OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
June 3, 1850,

In Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, On the President's Message relating to California.

Mr. CROWELL said:

Mr. Chairman: My desire to progress with the public business, and proceed at once to vote upon the various propositions before us, forbade me at an early day to take part in the discussion which has consumed so much of our time since the commencement of the present session. And after I had changed my original purpose, and made up my mind to be heard upon "the great question of the day," the difficulty of obtaining the floor among such a multitude of competitors has been so disheartening, that I have more than once resolved to cease all further efforts to address the Committee. But not having been wholly unobservant of the fruit which perseverance yields, and having been early taught to cultivate the grace of patience, I have held ont to the present moment; and now, Mr. Chairman, through your kindness, I have secured the floor, and will proceed at once to the immediate subject under consideration. And that is, as I understand it, the Message of the President of the United States communicating to this House the Constitution of California.

I do not cherish the vain hope that anything I may say will have the slightest influence upon the vote of a single member of this House. To give the reasons of my own vote, and vindicate the course which I deem it just to pursue, will be the main purpose of my remarks. If the Constitution of California shall be found to be in compliance with the requisitions of the Constitution of the United States, the President earnestly recommends that it may receive the sanction of Congress. In this recommendation, sir, it is hardly necessary for me to say I cordially concur. I am in favor of the immediate admission of California into the Union, unembarrassed with any other subject of legislation, with its present ample boundaries and its glorious free Constitution. There is no limit or qualification in the Constitution of the United States to the power granted to Congress to admit new States into the Union, and when in the Union, the United States guaranty to every State a republican form of Government.

But an unexpected and, permit me to add, an unjustifiable opposition, has lately made its appearance, and various objections have recently been invented and urged in a certain quarter, against the admission of California as one of the States of this Union. Whatever form these objections may assume, and whatever disguise they may be made to wear, it is plain to my mind, and truth obliges me to say, that they are actuated by a kindred motive, and all spring from a common origin—a determined, but most unjustifiable hostility to the provisions of her Constitution interdicting slavery within her limits.

The first section of her Bill of Rights declares, "that all men are, by nature, free and independent, and have certain inalienable rights, among which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty; acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, and pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness;" and as a corollary drawn from these great and fundamental truths, the eighteenth section provides that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, unless for the punishment of crimes, shall ever be tolerated in this State." These are the provisions in the Constitution of California which awaken so much hostility in the American Congress, in the year eighteen hundred and fifty, and the sanction of which, we are told by some, would be sufficiently offensive to call for and to justify a disruption of this Union.

Sir, I am not prepared to believe, without further proof, that madness and folly have gained such dominion, have achieved so complete a triumph over any considerable portion, even of the Southern people, notwithstanding the late occurrences in this Hall, as a sentiment so discreditable would seem to imply. I am incredulous, and must wait for further developments before I am convinced.

But let us consider the objections which the application of California to become one of the States of this Union has encountered, and weigh them candidly and impartially. And though they are numerous, and urged with an appearance of zeal and earnestness, I think it will be found an easy matter to remove them. The first is, that no act of Congress was passed authorizing the people of the Territory to form a State Constitution. This is true, and if the previous action of Congress were necessary to give this power to the people, the objection would be fatal. But it is not necessary. Congress has the power to admit new States, and it is perfectly competent, in the exercise of this power, to dispense with all preliminary forms, and we find that it has been done repeatedly during the threescore years that have elapsed since the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Eight States have been admitted in this way, being a majority of the whole number ever admitted, and extending over the whole period of the existence of the Union—Vermont in 1791; Kentucky in 1792; Tennessee in 1796; Maine in 1820; Arkansas in 1836; Michigan in 1837; Florida in 1845, and Iowa in 1846. It may be convenient, it is true, for the people of a Territory to act under the authority of Congress in assembling a constitutional convention, and if not unreasonably delayed, would perhaps be desirable; but such authority is not necessary, as the practice of the Government has clearly demonstrated. If it was now a question, however, of the first impression, and were without precedent to guide us, I for one should maintain that the preliminary action of Congress would be more regular and more conformable to the dignity and importance of the subject. Such preliminary action would be viewed as an invitation to the people of the Territory to come forward and form a State Government, and take their position as a member of the Federal Union, which could not fail of being highly appreciated by those to whom it would be addressed. But, sir, I am not at liberty to view it in that light, and interpose this objection. It is enough for me that the question has been settled by competent authority. I stand by the decision—I acquiesce in the former usage of the Government.

But we are told, legislative precedents are not worthy of much respect, and may be disregarded with impunity whenever we please to do so. This may be true in some cases. It depends much upon the character of the legislators and the influences which surround them. If they are wise, upright, and honest men, possessing a character for purity and integrity, like those in the Congress of 1791, of 1792, and 1796, that elevates them above corrupting influences and the suspicion of selfish and impure motives, we bow with respectful deference to their decisions, as we do to those of respectable judicial tribunals. Objections, however, to following legislative precedents in the present instance, come with an exceedingly ill grace from those who aided in establishing them, and by whose votes and other official acts they have frequently been sanctioned.

There is another reason, independent of those already advanced, justifying the course of California—I refer to the shameful neglect of Congress at its last session, in fulfilment of solemn treaty obligations, to provide a Government for her. The Territory was left without any legal protection, except that of a mere military Government. Her condition was a peculiar one. The wealth of the country was beyond computation, and the published accounts of it struck the world with amazement. Her mountains, lifting their summits to the skies, were filled with the precious metals, and her rivers literally and without a figure of speech rolled over golden sands to the ocean. The population, both by sea and land, was rapidly increasing, and impelled by a necessity that almost forbid waiting to look up precedents, the people proceeded at once, and very wisely, in my judgment, to form a State Government. The Constitution is before us, and it evidences a degree of statesmanship, and is imbued with a spirit of devotion to republican liberty, that would be creditable to the oldest State in this Union. With all the earnestness with which I am able to give utterance to the feelings and wishes of my heart, I for one bid our young sister on the Pacific coast a hearty and cordial welcome to the family circle.

But another objection is urged, and that is, the want of sufficient population; and this is as frivolous as the one already considered. It is impossible, of course, to state definitely, and with entire accuracy, the number of inhabitants in California when the constitutional convention assembled. We do know, however, the number of votes cast at the recent election, and from them the number of inhabitants may be estimated with sufficient certainty for all practical purposes. On the first of January last, the population, it is believed, exceeded one hundred thousand, and at the present time it is probably more than one hundred and fifty thousand.

The popular vote on the adoption of the Constitution was 12,811, and at the election of Governor, 14,213—a larger vote than has ever been given by any of the new States at the time of admission into the Union, with a single exception, the State of Wisconsin, as facts will show.

Louisiana was admitted into the Union in 1812, and the first popular vote given was 4,748. Indiana was admitted in 1816, and the same year gave 6,789 votes. Mississippi was admitted in 1817, and Illinois in 1818, and four years afterwards the former gave only 8,075 votes, and the latter 7,465. Arkansas and Michigan were admitted in 1836, and at the Presidential election of that year the former gave 3,638 votes, and the latter 11,360. Under the fourth census of 1820, the ratio of representation was 35,000; under the fifth, 47,700; and under the sixth and present it is 70,680. It remains to be seen what it will be under the one which is about to be taken. Since the present ratio of representation was established, Florida and Iowa have been admitted, the former in 1845, and the latter in 1846. At the first election afterwards, Florida gave 5,301 votes, and Iowa 13,271 votes; and at this election, with a less popular vote than California has exhibited, Iowa elected two members to this House, and they were both admitted to seats without opposition. Wisconsin was also admitted in 1848, and with a popular vote of 22,590 at the first election under her Constitution; she is now represented on this floor by three members.

But if this objection is not available, another is offered to supply its place. The State, we are told, is too large, and its limits ought to be diminished. The memorial of the Senators and Representatives elect from California places this matter in its true light. I give an extract from that document:

"Objections have been urged against the boundaries of California, as fixed by her Constitution. The convention which settled upon the existing boundary was engaged during three days in debate upon that subject. There were two parties, or rather two propositions: 1. To take in the whole of California as it existed when a department of Mexico; but with a Proviso that Congress and the State Legislature might limit the bounds of the State to the summit of the Sierra Nevada, and leaving it to Congress to establish Territorial Governments over such portions of the country as it might see fit. 2. To divide the whole territory on the 116th degree of west longitude from southern boundary of Oregon to the northern boundary of Mexico, that portion of said territory lying west of said 116th degree of west longitude, and between that line and the Pacific ocean, to constitute the State of California. The opinion of the convention was so nearly divided between these two propositions, that both were supported by a majority at different times during the informal stages; and, on the final passage, the present boundary was adopted as a species of compromise.

"This question called out the most vehement and angry debate which was witnessed during the sitting of the convention. The project of fixing the southern boundary of the State on the parallel of 36° 30′ was never entertained by that body. Indeed, when it is recollected that eleven of the Delegates sitting in the Convention represented a large constituency south of that line, it is at once apparent that it would have been a most unjust and discourteous act to have listened to such a proposition, unless it came from them. The people of the southern portion of California most certainly did not wish, and probably never would consent to, such a separation. In former years they constituted the great majority of the population; they have always been governed by the same laws; and they would be the last to sanction a division of California, as they have always known it. In a political point of view, too, it would seem desirable that these original Mexican citizens should become, as speedily as possible, Americans in sentiment and language; and there certainly can be no more effectual mode of accomplishing this, than by bringing them into that daily contact which an existence under the same laws and the same social, political, and commercial regulations must inevitably produce. In the extreme North, also, the adventurous miners had crossed the coast range, and penetrated to the head waters of the Trinity river, which finds its way through an unexplored and dangerous Indian country to the Pacific ocean. As the abundance of gold found there rendered it probable that a large community would soon become permanently established in that region, the convention felt that it could not refuse them the benefits and protection of a Government, by circumscribing the limits of the State in that direction. The eastern boundary of the State, so far as explored and known, runs through a desert. A small portion of the eastern slopes of the Sierra Nevada is said to be adapted to agricultural and grazing purposes; and as that country, when settled, must necessarily find an outlet across the mountains into the valleys of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers, and as it could never have any natural connection with the country to the eastward of it, by reason of the great desert, it was thought advisable and proper to include that strip of territory in the bounds of the State. That portion of the State lying to the southward and eastward of the Sierra Nevada and the coast range, and between those mountains and the Colorado river, is believed to be an arid desert. So much as lies upon the usual emigrant trail from the Colorado to San Diego, and that further north, in the vicinity of the explorations of John C. Fremont, is known to be of that character. The general impression, therefore, is that that part of the territory included in the State boundaries is of little or no value. The superficial area of the State of California, according to the boundaries prescribed in her Constitution, is 155,550 square miles, or 99,552,000 square acres, exclusive of the islands adjacent to her coast. A glance at the map prepared by order of the United States Senate, from the surveys of John Charles Fremont, and other authorities, upon which the above calculation is based, will at once satisfy all that the topographical characteristics of that country are peculiar and novel. Two great chains of mountains, the Sierra Nevada and the coast range, traverse it in nearly its whole extent from north to south. The large valleys that lie between those two ranges, and the small lateral valleys that pierce their rugged sides in every direction, are the valuable arable portion of the land of California. Assuming, then, that two-fourths of the whole superficial area of the State are covered by mountains, that another fourth is a desert waste, and we have left one-fourth as useful for agricultural purposes; that is, 38,887½ square miles, or 24,888,000 square acres of arable and productive land. This estimate, in the opinion of the undersigned, is fully borne out by the topographical surveys of the country; but, anxious as they are to avoid misstatement, they do not hesitate to assert their belief that it is quite apparent, after all due allowances, that three fifths of the whole territory embraced in the State of California will never be susceptible of cultivation or useful to man. This, then, would give, as the remaining two-fifths, 62,220 square miles, or 39,820,800 square acres, which would constitute the sum total of valuable arable and grazing land embraced within the boundary fixed by the Constitution of the State of California, and distributed at intervals over the whole surface of the country, from its extreme northern to its extreme southern limits. The foregoing are believed to be substantially the reasons which led to the establishment of the present boundary of California."

To the full and candid exposition of the motives and reasons that governed the convention in settling the question of boundaries contained in the foregoing extract, I deem it unnecessary to add a single word. They ought to be satisfactory to every unprejudiced mind, and I will not permit myself to doubt they will be. If this is a valid objection, and would justify us in driving California from our doors when she respectfully asks for admission, and refusing her application to become a member of the Union, a great outrage was perpetrated, which has not yet been atoned for, by the admission of Texas with a territory nearly three times as large. The friends of Texas will surely not withhold *their* votes on this account.

Another objection to California rests upon the assumption of Presidential interference with the people of the territory, to persuade them to form a State Government. If this be true, it is not perceived how it could impair the constitutional rights of the new States, and prevent her admission into the Union. The alleged intermeddling of the President with the people of the territory might be a just cause of complaint against him, if extended beyond the scope of his appropriate duties; but it could work no injury to the just rights of California. Let us inquire into the facts, however, and ascertain whether the charge has any foundation in truth, or is not the offspring merely of hatred and ill will to the Executive; for in my efforts to obviate objections to the admission of California, it is only the naked truth which I seek, and intend to present to the Committee. Soon after the inauguration of the present Chief Magistrate, an accusation was put in circulation against him in the Western and Northern States, for mischievous purposes, as many believed at the time that he had exerted, and would continue to exert, the influence which his official position gave him, to secure the extension of slavery into the newly-acquired territories, and especially in California. And after the failure of the Walker amendment, which he was charged with persuading members of Congress to support, he had sent, it was asserted, an emissary from a slave State to secure that object. This story, I am aware, was considered by many and denounced, as a fabrication. It was nevertheless repeated, and not without success, by the original inventors, and all others who could be enlisted in the enterprise, and industriously circulated through all the channels of communication open to the public ear, during the season and up to the close of the fall elections. This was done, no doubt, upon the principle which it is said governs a certain class of politicans when in straitened circumstances—that a falsehood, however ridiculous and absurd, perseveringly adhered to, and constantly reiterated, is as good as the truth. The public mind, then in a state of feverish excitement, was easily inflamed in the non-slaveholding States on this subject. It was known that the Mexican war had been provoked and prosecuted for the purpose of adding new realms to the domains of slavery; and it was easy to make the people believe that everything would be done to consummate the original iniquitous design.

But when California had adopted a free Constitution, by which the hopes of the slavery extensionists were blasted, and was about to apply for admission as a member of the Federal Union, the President was accused by adversaries in another quarter, who were vexed with disappointment, and not willing to be outdone in the business of slander and detraction, of prostituting the powers of his high office for the inexcusable and nefarious purpose of excluding slavery from the new State. And to this end, it was said, he had sent his agent, clothed with an official character, and armed with secret instructions, to overawe and intimidate the people on the Pacific coast, and worry them into compliance with his wishes. This grave and imposing charge, directly conflicting with the former one, and branding it in fact with falsehood, was manufactured for Southern circulation, and put forth with an air of confidence and assurance that could have been inspired only by the success which attended its predecessor in the Northern States.

And to give color and character to this device, it has been repeated in debate on this floor, and resolutions, at an early day, were offered in both branches of Congress, of a most commanding and formidable length, calling on the President for the proof to work his conviction. With characteristic and praiseworthy promptness, the call was obeyed. And, as a response to the resolutions, we have an imposing volume of one thousand pages laid on our desks. From this immense mass of printed matter, not the least particle of proof can be gathered or gleaned to convict the President of any interference whatever in regard to the domestic institutions of California.

But this is not all. The President himself denies, in the most emphatic manner, the alleged interference; and in the absence of any proof, this certainly ought to be satisfactory to all candid and unprejudiced minds. The Government agent, [Mr. KING,] who was accused of being the instrument of the Executive in consummating his designs in California, has denied it; and the members of Congress elect from that State, in their memorial to this House, have also denied it; and newspapers recently received from San Francisco indignantly deny it; and surely the enemies of California will not be so uncandid and unjust as to insist upon an objection that we have shown has no foundation whatever in fact.

Mr. Chairman, I have thus given an inventory, and briefly noticed the principal objections brought forward against the admission of California, and I have endeavored to remove them—with what success let others determine—by such considerations as my own reflections have suggested, and my information supplied. And here, if I yielded to my own inclination, and consulted my own wishes, I should dismiss the subject and resume my seat. But the occasion has been seized upon by Southern gentlemen to go into a general discussion of American slavery, and its connection with the Federal Government. Claims have been advanced for the institution by its advocates that are not only new and startling, but wholly inadmissible and highly dangerous. From these claims I take this, the only occasion which I have had, to express my dissent and abhorrence, and against these audacious novelties I here enter my protest. And, sir, I should fail to discharge the whole duty which the seat I occupy in this Hall imposes upon me, if I were to remain silent, and thereby give them an implied acquiescence. I shall not do it. Sir, if slavery has improperly been made the theme of discussion upon the question pending in this Committee, the friends of the admission of California are not responsible for it. They have sought to avoid it, as wholly disconnected with the subject, and were willing to give their votes silently, without delay and without debate. But it has been forced upon us, and now let it be distinctly understood, we are ready to meet it. We do not shrink from it; we stand up to it. For one, sir, I prefer the turbulence of freedom, if that is a necessary condition to its enjoyment, to the calm and quiet of despotism.

It has been announced upon this floor, with a boldness, and, if it be not unparliamentary, with an effrontery that can find no parallel, and even beggars and defies invective, that SLAVERY—HUMAN BONDAGE, is a blessing, and not a curse; and that it is the duty of this Government to protect, sustain, and extend it. The Constitution of the United States, we are told, requires it, and we are summoned to the faithful performance of our duty.

Sir, I deny it, and will not obey any such summons, nor acknowledge any such obligations of duty. They do not exist, and if they were imposed by any human laws, I would disregard them and trample them under foot. If we were shivering under the heartless and remorseless despotism of the Emperor Nicholas, instead of standing in this Hall and giving utterance to our thoughts in the manly tones of freemen, and basking in the sunshine of free institutions and republican liberty, we could not be treated with more earnest and eloquent arguments in favor of the assumed right of one part of mankind to trample upon, oppress, and enslave the other, than this debate has afforded. I have been filled with amazement at the temper and character of this discussion, and the principles avowed by members of this House.

In fact, sir, I am not able to discern any very sensible difference between the principles, or perhaps, I should say, the platform, on which his Imperial Majesty has placed his feet, in carrying on his relentless warfare against human rights, by the side of his remorseless and blood-thirsty accomplice of Austria, and that occupied by the advocates of human bondage, slavery, and oppression, on this side of the Atlantic. The rights of man are held by the same title under European skies that they are here, and the power, whether wielded by one or by many, whether claimed by an imperial despot or a legislative assembly, that robs man of his inalienable rights, and makes him or continues him a slave, is no more inexcusable and despotic there than it is here. All men are created equal. The same love of liberty that fires our hearts and nerves our arms against the oppressor, glows in the bosoms and animates the hearts of our crushed and down-trodden European brethren. And the Almighty has engraven upon the tablets of the enslaved African's heart, whether groaning in hopeless bondage in our own or in other countries, the same love of freedom that inspires us and the struggling sons of liberty everywhere.

It is not too much, therefore, to say, that tears shed for oppressed Hungary, and Greece, and Italy, and other distant countries, by republicans in theory and patriots by profession, are insincere—are in fact nothing but "iron tears down Pluto's cheek," if no sympathy is felt and expressed by them for the enslaved in our country, to whom liberty is as dear as it is to them. A reference to historical facts will show the error into which honorable members have fallen, who have ventured to maintain that we are under an implied obligation to permit the existence of slavery in the Territories, and to extend protection to that species of property wherever the General Government has jurisdiction. Nothing can be further from the truth than this assumption. When the Constitution of the United States was adopted, the only territory belonging to the United States was the Northwestern Territory, and that was protected and secured against the introduction of slavery by the celebrated Ordinance of Freedom of 1787. This Ordinance was passed by the Congress of the Confederation, and when, two years afterwards, the Constitution was adopted, its binding force was recognised in that instrument. The sixth section provides "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory, otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." Thus was every inch of territory over which the Congress of the Confederation had jurisdiction or power to legislate, carefully guarded from the encroachments of slavery by a provision which it was solemnly declared should *forever* remain unalterable, except by common consent.

And further to illustrate the sleepless jealousy of the institution of slavery, cherished by the eminent statesmen of that day, and as conclusive proof of their fixed and unchangeable determination to chain it down and confine it to its existing limits, allow me to remind this Committee, that the first Congress under the Constitution passed a law in August, 1789, which was approved by President Washington, to continue and secure the provisions of this Ordinance in full operation and effect in the Territories. The declared purpose of passing the act of Congress was avowed to be "in order that the Ordinance of the United States in Congress assembled, for the government of the territory northwest of the river Ohio, may continue to have full effect, it is requisite that certain provisions should be made, so as to adapt the same to the Constitution of the United States;" and the necessary provisions were incorporated in the bill, and it became a law. All the Territories were thus secured to freedom and consecrated to liberty, and slavery was confined within the limits and left to the municipal regulations of the States where it then existed. There it was permitted to linger, and left to perish under the operation of causes which have already driven it from several of the original States, and which, in the judgment of many good men, were sufficiently potential to work out its complete and speedy extermination. As a mark of subjection to a foreign Government, and as a badge of colonial vassalage that remained after the close of the struggle for independence, it was loathsome and offensive to those who laid the foundations of our republican institutions upon the firm basis of LIBERTY and EQUALITY. And for this reason it was not permitted to extend into the Territories or the new States that were to be formed out of them. It was forever prohibited by an unalterable decree of the supreme legislative power in the State, and the importation of slaves was to cease after the year 1808. Nothing was omitted that could be done to restrain and confine it within its original boundaries, and to secure free soil from its blighting and polluting footsteps. And if it be not profane, it may be truthfully said, that the way of the tree of life was not more carefully guarded by the Almighty, after the disobedience and expulsion of Adam from the garden of Eden, by cherubims and a flaming sword, than was the freedom of the Territories by the wise, discreet, and patriotic legislation of those who achieved our independence and established our free institutions.

The Constitution of the United States conferred no express power to enlarge the boundaries of the country by the acquisition or annexation of neighboring nations. This dangerous power, the exercise of which has so often proved fatal to other countries, was wisely withheld. Schemes of territorial aggrandizement were not entertained or ever thought of by the great and good men who formed the Constitution. They made ample provision for the government of the States and Territories then under the jurisdiction and within the acknowledged limits of the United States. Beyond this they did not go. The Constitution which they adopted was ordained and established (to use their own language) in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty—not the continuance or extension of slavery—to ourselves and our posterity.

These are its avowed objects, and these the ends which it was designed to secure. And they are expressed in language so plain, in terms so easily comprehended, that "the wayfaring men," though not half as wise and learned as some honorable members on this floor, need not misunderstand it. Still, it is maintained by some of the disciples of the Southern school of politicians, with a zeal and earnestness that might easily be mistaken for sincerity by those not conversant with proceedings in this Hall, that this language is without practical meaning; and that "to secure the blessings of liberty," if not wholly innocent in that respect, is a simple announcement that this is a pro-slavery Government, and that slavery is stamped upon its heart, and is an object of its paternal regard, as it is one of its principal supports. The error and absurdity of this argument are easily exposed, and a reference to the preamble already quoted will convince any one, not wholly beyond the dominion of reason, that it is entirely without any foundation to rest upon. Even the term slavery, as has often been remarked, is not to be found in the Constitution. The framers of that instrument, fresh from the battle-fields of the Revolution, on which they had broken the oppressor's arm, and won glory for themselves and liberty for their country, carefully excluded the odious and hateful word; and this exclusion was not the result of accident, but of carefully-considered and deliberate design.

Sir, it is a mistaken notion that this is a pro-slavery Government, as some have imagined. I know there is a class of earnest and zealous, but, as I think, misguided men in the free States, who, like some honorable members on this floor, maintain that it is, and denounce it as a covenant with death, and a league with hell. And as a consequence of this error—and it certainly is a most

[SEE FOURTH PAGE.]

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, SEPTEMBER 5, 1850.

Schuyler F. Judd of Ogdensburgh, New York, is authorized to act as an agent for the *National Era* in St. Lawrence county, New York.

☞ We take pleasure in laying before our readers, this week, the able speech of the Hon. J. Crowell, of Ohio, which we have no doubt will be read with great interest.

TO THE READERS OF THE ERA.

The comments on the article entitled "Imprisonment of William L. Chaplin," from the *Free Presbyterian*, in the last *Era*, were not written by the editor, who is still absent, and who does not approve of some of its views.

THE BALANCE OF POWER.

The ultra pro-slavery men have a crotchet, for which they are indebted to the late Senator from South Carolina, Mr. Calhoun, upon the subject of the relative strength of the free and slave States, which we propose to examine. It is a notion of theirs, that an equality of political power can be and ought to be preserved between the two sections, though they have not very clearly explained how the thing is to be done. We are not informed whether the Southern States are to be cut up into smaller ones, or the Northern to be amalgamated into larger. We are only told that the Constitution is to be changed, in order to consummate the desired object, without being furnished with the particulars of the plan proposed. It may be that they may demand not only an equality in the Senate, but also in the House of Representatives, and, consequently, in the electoral colleges. To effect any of these changes, will require the assent of a majority, in some cases of three-fourths of the States; and unless the suppleness of General Cass were a more predominant quality in Yankeedom than we have reason to think it is, we are not likely to witness such a settlement of the balance of power. The absurdity of the proposition is too great to entitle it to a moment's consideration; and the mind which gave birth to it must have been in a very unhealthy condition, or it must have been unduly excited by contemplating the effects which the gasconade and bluster of the chivalry was likely to produce upon the phlegmatic people of the North.

Considering it, therefore, as out of the question to preserve the balance of power by a reorganization of the Federal Government, we will proceed to consider the effect which the progress of population is likely to have upon the relative strength of the North and South. In the year 1790 the population of the slave States was nearly equal to that of the free, there being only 7,153 persons more in the latter division than in the former, according to Jesse Chickering, of Boston, a gentleman distinguished for his accurate acquaintance with statistics. This trifling difference, amounting to less than the population of a small county, has gradually risen to between three and a half to four millions; and the recent great acceleration which has been given to foreign emigration will in twenty years cause the North to number twice as many inhabitants as the South. Another circumstance tending in the same direction is the gradual liberation of the more Northern slave States from slavery by the sale or removal of the slaves further South. In this way Delaware, without a formal act of emancipation, has become, to all practical intents, free; and her Senators and Representative have frequently shown more devotion to the cause of freedom by their votes than those from some of the free States. Maryland, likewise, is in a state of transition from slavery to freedom; and in view of all the moral, social, and political engines at work for the overthrow of slavery, it may safely be predicated that the institution cannot last ten years in that State. The situation of Missouri and Kentucky is similar to that of Maryland; and at a day not much more distant, they will be ranked among the free States. As an engine of sectional combination, the institution of slavery has already ceased to exercise that omnipotent control which it exerts further South. The affinities of the People are more and more becoming Northern, by the increase of the white population, and the relative or actual diminution of the number of slaves. The growth of the commercial and manufacturing interests in these States is the great secret of the decline of the Slave-Power; and even the agriculture which those interests encourage is of a nature not suited to slavery.

From these various causes, the South is likely to be greatly weakened, and the North strengthened, by the gradual transformation of the border States. The weak will become weaker, and the strong stronger, while the tide of European emigration is all the while swelling the North, Northwestern, and Pacific States. The South is therefore doomed to decline far more rapidly than ever in political consequence, until its interests and institutions cease to be distinct from those of the Northern portion of the Union. So rapid is this tendency of things, that we might almost venture to predict that in twenty or twenty-five years, there will be less of sectional difference and sectional prejudice between Massachusetts and South Carolina than will by that time have arisen between the States east and west of the Mississippi. We however anticipate no strong or rooted prejudices between the different quarters of the Union after the extinction of slavery. There will doubtless be a continuation of the Tariff squabble, and a sectional strife about the public lands, and the improvement of rivers and harbors, and the construction of railroads, by the Federal Government; but these different interests can never give rise to the furious passions which the slavery propagandists have displayed.

The greater increase of the Northern population than that of the Southern will affect the political power of the two sections in the House of Representatives and in the electoral colleges. The preponderance of the North in the Senate will depend upon the erection of new States The most superficial glance at the present condition of things must convince every one that two or three free States must, in the nature of things, come into the Union before another slave State is admitted. There is at present no slave territory belonging to the Union. Every foot of the public domain has been declared free by Congress, or by the People inhabiting it; and we see little probability that the law of freedom can be superseded by that of slavery west of the Rio Grande, or east of it, within the proper limits of New Mexico. If, therefore, any more new slave States are created, they must be manufactured out of Texas, with the consent of Congress; and it is well known, that so sparse and inconsiderable is the population of that State, that not more than one new State can be made out of its immense territory, containing the requisite number of inhabitants, for several years to come.

With the Northern territory the case is quite different. Already we have California and New Mexico knocking at the doors of Congress for admission into the Union; and in three or four years, Minnesota and Oregon will have the requisite population to form State Governments. Indeed, Oregon, from the recent discoveries of gold in great abundance, may be expected to demand a State Government in twelve or eighteen months from to-day. The whole tide of western emigration, which crosses the frontiers of the Western States, now finds a home on free soil; and it is not to be forgotten, that the slave States themselves now pour out their myriads, only to people the future free States of the Union.

Southern men may therefore as well abandon the chimerical project of preserving the balance of power between Freedom and Slavery. "Manifest destiny" has declared against Slavery, and no amount of political energy, in which the South far exceeds the North, can stay the overshadowing influence of the latter in the affairs of this country, in a very few years. Disunion would be ten thousand times the worst remedy that could be adopted. The fiat has gone forth, that the spirit of freedom is to rule the North American continent; and the efforts of the friends of slavery to extend the institution have only served to awaken the dormant love of freedom in the hearts of the People. The true wisdom of the Southern people would consist in adapting their condition to the order of Nature. They cannot "stand from under" the avalanche of free principles which their conjurations in behalf of slavery have precipitated upon them.

But we hold that slavery cannot exist in this country many years, in the present form of that institution, even if there were no moral enginery at work against it. It has within itself the seeds of its own dissolution. Slavery is incompatible with density of population. Labor becomes too cheap, and the necessaries of life too dear, to warrant the holding of a half or two-thirds of the people in that condition. A species of serfdom might continue, and the domestic service might still be performed by slaves in a Pagan or Mahometan country; but when the institution has no more hold upon men's pockets than that amounts to in this country, a country of Bibles and newspapers, it will tumble down. *

STRANGE INCONSISTENCY.

The Southern newspapers, particularly those of the more ultra stamp, are taking great pains to publish the proceedings of the Convention of runaway slaves, recently held at Cazenovia, in New York. If a Northern man were to be caught south of Mason and Dixon's line, with a paper containing such matter, he would be tarred and feathered, if not hanged. Why not hang the Southern editors for doing the same thing? If a man were to throw a firebrand into a magazine, in order to show how the "incendiaries" do, would he be doing less to destroy those around him than the veritable incendiary himself? How unjust, to incarcerate Barrett for circulating pamphlets addressed to the poor whites, urging them merely to exercise their political franchise independently, when Southern editors publish the proceedings of the Cazenovia Convention, which hold out encouragement to the slaves to rebel! We leave it to Southern casuists to reconcile these inconsistencies, if they can; for ourselves, we cannot help suspecting that, after all, they are not so much afraid of Northern fanaticism as they pretend. *

GREEK AGAINST GREEK.

"Perforations in the 'Latter Day Pamphlets,' by one of the eighteen millions of bores, edited by Elizur Wright," is the significant title of a pamphlet of forty-eight pages, from the press of Phillips, Sampson, & Co., of Boston. It is a keenly-written and spiritual review of the recent extraordinary publications of Thomas Carlyle; and it is too little to say of it that as a piece of vigorous writing, it is at least equal to the best of the essays which it criticises; while in the matter of common sense, sound philosophy, and humanity, it infinitely transcends them. Its author is well known throughout the country as an original and piquant newspaper editor, and this last production of his pen is by no means likely to diminish his reputation. Nothing like it or equal to it has ever appeared on this side of the water. It reminds one of the wit-seasoned and eloquent political essays of Blackwood, with the substitution of liberalism for conservatism. The author, while he shows his ability to maintain a close and logical argument, meets his antagonist on his own ground, with his own favorite weapons of sarcasm caricature, and ridicule; and, in dealing with his political heresies and absurdities, acts upon the seemingly contradictory advice of the wise man of old, and answers him according and not according to his folly.

As a specimen of the style and argument of Professor Wright's pamphlet, we give two or three extracts from that portion of it devoted to the consideration of Carlyle's ultra monarchical notions of government, his hostility to universal suffrage, and his maintenance of the divine right of certain unknown, wise, and heroic individuals to take the reins of absolute power, and govern nations after the summary fashion of the Dictator of Paraguay, or the old Deys of Algiers.

"Prophets and historians, less extravagant than Carlyle, have had the trick since time began of looking at the monarchy or the dynasty, or the name, as the nation; and through their deceptive writings we always see governments and dynasties, and their fights and feuds excessively magnified or distorted beyond their due relative importance. Indeed we see in history but little else. The real history of the race is hidden behind that of ambitious usurpers of government, or rather it is totally lost for the want of historians. We know something of Pharoah, and Nebuchadnezzar, and Alexander, and Hiero and his wonderful servant Archimedes; but what do we know of the Egyptian farmer, or the Assyrian market-man, or the ancient Sicilian peasant? The exceptional men have been written, but we find not the representative men, the samples of the mass. So we learn from history about as much of ancient human life as we should now learn of actual European life by visiting a dozen courts, in all of which we should find French spoken, and costumes, morals, and manners, all cut to the Paris pattern. I beg leave humbly to doubt whether the historical rise and fall of potentates and empires, the development and decadence of ancient civilizations, and the eruptions and irruptions of barbarians, really ever had much significance to the human race at large. I humbly doubt, for example, whether the dispersion of the Jews and their condemnation to the "Old Clo" lyrics throughout the cities of Christendom was ever any considerable calamity out of a narrow circle of chief priests, scribes, and pharisees. Pyramids have ceased to grow in the valley of the Nile, but corn has not, and possibly the latter may be more justly distributed among the months than when the Pyramids were more flourishing. The historical glory of a people may be one thing, and their solid comfort quite another."

"Carlyle not only mistakes human nature itself, but he overlooks the very conditions of the grand problem of human society. Those conditions have so changed within four hundred years, that the whole anterior history of the race is made indecisive, if not valueless. Possibly what he says of universal suffrage might have been wisely said while nine-tenths of the race were of necessity machines, mere beasts of burden, whether bond or free. Up to four hundred years ago, there was nothing on which a civilization could rest except human slavery, under one name or another. In that day of the world's infancy—this is only its childhood—it knew not its right hand from its left. It knew neither the circulation of the blood nor the pressure of the atmosphere. It could entertain no astronomical theory more probable than that the moon is green cheese, the sun a broad red-hot toasting iron, and the earth a pan-cake. It neither yoked fire and water, nor harnessed the lightning. It had no cotton factories, nor steam horses, nor even gunpowder. And, above all things, it had no newspapers or printing presses. Now, given at the egress from Noah's ark, if such egress there ever were, the arts and sciences as they are in 1850, would the history of the last four thousand years be such as we find it? Would there have been Babel and the Pyramids, and the Pharoahs, and Solomon, and Nebuchadnezzar, and Xerxes, and Alexander, and that beauty, Caligula, and that long dynasty of still greater *Christian* beauties breathing at this our day out of its element in the unfortunate Pio Nino?"

Passing over the part devoted to Capital Punishment, in which the inhuman and anti-Christian doctrines of Carlyle are very effectually handled, we have only space for a paragraph or two from the concluding pages, touching the slave question. Speaking of the atrocious bill now before Congress for the recovery of fugitives, he says:

"That condition of humanity, as it rises from the brute towards the God, *runs away from* with an earnestness which disturbs a nation's peace, and a bravery that defies midnight horrors, dogs, devils, and distance, must be a false condition, and all efforts to legalize it and eternize it must be idle and worse. Lost labor. Messrs. Clay, Webster and Cass, your capacious brains, with all Princeton and Andover to back you, cannot make a truth of so ugly a lie, or succeed in contradicting the voice of your Maker, which cries aloud in these long night-marches by the light of the unchangeable star. Settle it by your soulless bills and judicial array of petty postmasters! Good Heavens! You might as well attempt to unsettle that star itself by a writ of ejectment, or legislate the multiplication table a fiction. The eternal congruity of things cannot unhinge itself at your bidding."

"As those distinguished authorities, Snobson, Foxcraft, and Toadeater, lay it down in the books, *passim*, "slavery is a very delicate subject," I shall therefore approach it delicately, coolly, and candidly, with a prayerful endeavor not to be fanatical. To approach it otherwise might not now, as once, earn a shower-bath of time-honored eggs, or a plumage of terebinthine adhesion, but it would not be sufficiently respectful to the high authorities aforesaid. Slavery, to give all sides fair play, is not so great a sin as it might be. It does not reverse or nullify *all* the Creator's laws; water runs down hill and grass grows along with it. Corn ripens and smiles play on the human face. The brains develop thoughts, and the heart harbors tenderness. The South, after its undisputed sway for a century or two, is not entirely a Sahara, nor a jungle for owls and alligators. It still breeds men and women to glorify God, and powerful politicians to glorify themselves, though with nervous systems considerably out of tune. I am most happy to make these admissions to my Southern brethren, whom I hereby assure that I do not regard them as sinners above all men, and especially my humble and unworthy self. As to original sins and actual transgressions, I could find plenty of them nearer home, for that matter. But as distance has nothing to do with opinions, whatever it may have to do with duties, I shall take leave to express mine, delicately, while I can.

"The South has suffered both by the choice of its laborers and their servitude, and where there is suffering there must have been more or less sin, as a general thing, if my theology be correct. Rude Africans, with all the liberty that the most righteous employers and angelic overseers could have allowed them, would not to this day have made the sunny South the garden that the sturdy Puritans have made of cold and rocky New England. There was an economical transgression in the original selection of such laborers, any how. With such poor qualifications and feeble intentions to civilize and evangelize them as their importers had, it was a sin to bring them into our country. And a still greater sin was it, when once here, to put them in the worst possible relations to become self-directing men. And the perilous height of sin has it been, and is it, when they spontaneously endeavor to rise above that base condition, and assume the control of themselves, to force them back. This is a sin to which the rest sink almost into mere inexpediencies. This is an open warfare with the Eternal, which cannot come to good."

We cannot but hope that this timely and exceedingly readable pamphlet will be followed by others of the same stamp. Certain we are that all competent judges must admit that the stalwart Scotchman is fairly matched by his democratic antagonist. J. G. W.

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The late trials for members of Congress in the 1st, 2d, and 4th districts of Massachusetts have resulted in the election of Samuel A. Eliott, in the 1st district, by a small vote; neither the Free Soil nor the Democratic parties casting above one-fifth of their usual vote In the 4th district, although the Democrats put in nomination a popular candidate, John G. Palfrey had a plurality. In the 2d district, lately represented by Hon. D. P. King, there was also no choice. Upham (W.) having 3,336 votes, Rantoul, (Dem.,) 2,246, John Pierpont, (F. S.) 1,187, scattering, 24. The friends of Upham are very urgent with the Free Soil men of the district to vote for their candidate, on the ground that he has heretofore expressed decided views against the extension of slavery. We believe him to be indeed far safer on this point than the successful candidate of his party in the Boston district, or the opponent of John G. Palfrey in the 4th district. Were we a voter in the 2d district, we think we would be willing to compromise the matter, and agree to abandon our opposition to Upham, so soon as the Whigs of the 4th district were ready to withdraw the candidate which they are now obstinately pitting against Palfrey. As this reasonable and fair proposal, however, is not likely to find favor with the managers of the Whig party, we trust our friends in the 2d district will stand firm, and resist all invitations to a compromise where the concessions must be wholly on their side. J. G. W.

AMERICAN CITIES.

In the year 1790, when the first census was taken, the cities ranked in population as follows: Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Charleston, and Baltimore. At that period Charleston was the 4th city in size in the Union, and the population was 16,359, which is about three fifths of its present numbers. Baltimore only contained 13,503 inhabitants, which is less than one tenth of its present numbers. The other cities named have increased in equal or greater proportions. In 1800 Philadelphia was still ahead, and New York, Baltimore, Boston, and Charleston, followed in order. Charleston was therefore the 5th city in importance fifty years ago. In 1810 the same order was presented; but in 1820 New York had run ahead of Philadelphia, and New Orleans of Charleston, making the latter the 6th city in importance. In 1830 the same rank was preserved by the respective cities. But in 1840 Cincinnati, Brooklyn, and Albany, had gone ahead of Charleston, leaving the latter to occupy the 9th place. At the present time, enough is known of the progress of the country in population to render it certain that St. Louis, Louisville, Pittsburg, Rochester, Buffalo, Troy, Lowell, Providence, Richmond, Chicago, and Milwaukie, and perhaps some other places, have eclipsed Charleston—a city peculiarly favored by nature, and enjoying all the blessings of the peculiar institution in an eminent degree. It now ranks *eighteenth* or *twentieth* in the scale, and it is actually declining in population.

New Orleans grew very rapidly until 1840, but since that period it has shown symptoms of decline. In 1847 the census was taken, when there was actually less population than in 1840. Mobile has shared the fate of Charleston—it is perishing of the slave fever. Baltimore, St. Louis, and Louisville, on the northern border of the slave States, are invigorated by the healthful atmosphere of Freedom. The proportion of slaves around them is inconsiderable, and they are therefore prosperous.

PROGRESS OF THE STATES.

In 1790, the States ranked as follows in population: Virginia, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Massachusetts, New York, Maryland, South Carolina. In 1800, New York had gone ahead of North Carolina and Massachusetts, but in other respects the States ranked as before. In 1810, Virginia still maintained the ascendency; New York had gone ahead of Pennsylvania, and in other respects the order of the States was preserved. In 1820, Ohio and Kentucky had eclipsed South Carolina and Massachusetts—in other respects no changes. In 1830, Pennsylvania was ahead of Virginia, and Tennessee of South Carolina. In 1840, Ohio ranked above Virginia, and the latter, which in 1790 was nearly equal in population to any two States besides, now took the *third* place, and will undoubtedly be transcended by Indiana and Illinois, in less than three years! We would respectfully suggest to the Reform Convention which is about to assemble in the Old Dominion, the propriety of changing the motto of the Commonwealth. Instead of "*Sic semper tyrannis*," it should be, "*Sic transit gloria mundi.*"

North Carolina, from being the third State in population, has receded to the tenth or eleventh place; and South Carolina, which was the sixth, has fallen to the sixteenth or seventeenth place. It is to be remarked that these States—Virginia, North and South Carolina—are not, like New England, crowded with population; on the contrary, they have less than half the number of inhabitants to the square mile now that New England contained sixty years ago. While the energies of the older slave States have been paralyzed by slavery, the New England States, with four times the population in proportion to territory, have in the last ten years exhibited all the vigor and prosperity of new communities. Massachusetts has increased in population by about 240,000 in that period—a number nearly equal to the whole white population of South Carolina; and yet the latter State has four times the extent of territory of the former.

In ten years from to-day, Michigan and Wisconsin—the latter first settled in 1836—will be ahead of Virginia in Federal population, if not in the number of inhabitants!

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

On Wednesday, the 27th, the House took up the Texas boundary bill—commonly known as Mr. Pearce's bill. The bill is as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following propositions shall be, and the same hereby are, offered to the State of Texas, which, when agreed to by the said State, in an act passed by the General Assembly, shall be binding and obligatory upon the United States, and upon the said State of Texas: *Provided*, The said agreement by the said General Assembly shall be given on or before the first day of December, eighteen hundred and fifty.

First. The State of Texas will agree that her boundary on the north shall commence at the point at which the meridian of one hundred degrees west from Greenwich is intersected by the parallel of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, and shall run from said point due west to the meridian of one hundred and three degrees west from Greenwich; thence her boundary shall run due south to the thirty-second degree of north latitude; thence on the said parallel of thirty-two degrees of north latitude to the Rio Bravo del Norte, and thence with the channel of said river to the Gulf of Mexico.

Second. The State of Texas cedes to the United States all her claim to territory exterior to the limits and boundaries which she agrees to establish by the first article of this agreement.

Third. The State of Texas relinquishes all claim upon the United States for liability of the debts of Texas, and for compensation or indemnity for the surrender to the United States of her ships, forts, arsenals, custom-houses, custom-house revenue, arms and munitions of war, and public buildings with their sites, which became the property of the United States at the time of the annexation.

Fourth. The United States, in consideration of said establishment of boundaries, cession of claim to territory, and relinquishment of claims, will pay to the State of Texas the sum of ten millions of dollars, in a stock bearing five per cent. interest, and redeemable at the end of fourteen years, the interest payable half-yearly at the Treasury of the United States.

Fifth. Immediately after the President of the United States shall have been furnished with an authentic copy of the act of the General Assembly of Texas accepting these propositions, he shall cause the stock to be issued in favor of the State of Texas, as provided for in the fourth article of this agreement: *Provided, also*, That no more than five millions of said stock shall be issued until the creditors of the State holding bonds and other certificates of stock of Texas for which duties on imports were specially pledged, shall first file at the Treasury of the United States releases of all claim against the United States for or on account of said bonds or certificates, in such form as shall be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury and approved by the President of the United States: *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to impair or qualify anything contained in the third article of the second section of the "joint resolution for annexing Texas to the United States" approved March first, eighteen hundred and forty-five, either, as regards the number of States that may hereafter be formed out of the State of Texas, or otherwise.

On the suggestion of Mr. Inge, of Alabama, the first question put was: "Shall this bill be rejected?" On this, the yeas and nays were taken, and resulted in a vote against rejection—168 to 36. Though a majority of the House are doubtless opposed to the bill, in its present shape, yet they did not wish to take the responsibility of its rejection, before the plastic power of amendment had been tried upon it.

At this point, Mr. Boyd, of Kentucky, moved an amendment, consisting of *thirty-three* sections, by which Territorial Governments were provided for New Mexico and Utah. The northern boundary of New Mexico, as prescribed by Mr. Boyd's amendment, is very different from that of Mr. Pearce's bill, and much less advantageous to New Mexico. Instead of extending the dividing line between New Mexico and Texas eastward to the western boundary of the Indian Territory, at the 100th degree of longitude from Greenwich, it stops at the 103d degree of longitude, on the 32d degree of latitude, and then runs north to the 38th degree of latitude, and then turns west, on that parallel, to the summit of the Sierra Madre. This leaves all the vast area between the one hundredth and one hundred and third degree of longitude, and north of 36° 30′, up to the 38th degree of latitude, and also between latitude 38° and 42°, *excluded* from New Mexico. This amendment also leaves the boundary of Texas, between the 100th and 103d degrees of longitude unsettled; or rather, leaves a vast region of country west of the Indian Territory, five and a half degrees wide, in part, and four degrees wide for the residue, open to the grasp of Texas. Thus it will be seen that just as the North yields, the South urges.

On the next day, Mr. Boyd withdrew that part of his amendment which relates to Utah.

Mr. Clingman, of North Carolina, moved to amend Mr. Boyd's amendment by providing that all that part of California which lies south of the parallel of 36° north latitude shall be formed into a Territory.

Here Mr. Richardson, of Illinois, attempted to get the floor, for the purpose, as he intimated, of offering an amendment by which the admission of California as a State, should be incorporated into the bill. This would be the broken down Omnibus, patched and tied together again.

Amidst great confusion, the House adjourned without taking any question.

On Thursday, Mr. Clingman spoke in favor of his amendment. He said:

"The creation of a Southern Territory will give the South a chance to occupy it. I frankly tell gentlemen that, in my opinion, slavery will find inducements sufficient to carry it there. From all the information that I have been able to obtain by private correspondence with persons there, from publications in the papers, and from conversations with gentlemen recently from that country, including members of the Legislature of California, I believe there are sufficient inducements to invite slave labor. Gold mines are known to exist there. I am satisfied, also, that the Delegate from Oregon [Mr. Thurston] is right in saying that mines of gold and silver exist on the waters of the Colorado and Gila rivers, as well as in New Mexico. Wherever gold mines exist, especially surface, alluvial, or deposit mines, as contradistinguished from vein mines, slave labor can be employed to the greatest advantage. I have a right to express an opinion on this subject, because in my own district for a great many years past some one, two, or more thousand slaves are employed in the gold mines. They are preferred to white laborers generally; being constantly under the eye of the overseer, they can be kept regularly and steadily at work. Such is the constitution of the negro, too, that he can remain with his feet in the water, and his head exposed to the hottest sunshine, without injury to his health. The mode of employing them in the rice fields is well known, and they thrive there in an occupation which would generally be fatal to white men. And I may add, sir, that were slaves at this time generally employed in the mines of California, an increased amount of gold would be obtained without the frightful loss of human life which is known to have occurred. Besides, sir, in addition to the inducements which the mines afford, southern California, to say nothing of the unexplored valleys of the Colorado, affords sufficient agricultural advantages to this species of labor. From its soil and climate I have little doubt but that it will produce sugar, cotton, rice, and tropical fruits, &c."

Mr. Ashmun, of Massachusetts, rose to move the previous question, when he made the following remarks:

"I had begun to say, Mr. Speaker, that the House need have no apprehensions of my having risen to make a speech. I believe that the two branches of Congress and the country have heard enough speeches upon all these questions in times past There are now two amendments to the bill pending; until those amendments are disposed of, of course none other can be offered. I believe it is the policy of the House to proceed to dispose of these amendments by a vote. [Cries of "Agreed."] I believe it is their policy to proceed to a vote at once, not merely upon the amendments, but upon the merits of the bill itself. I wish to say, before the motion which I am about to make, that I intend to vote against both of these amendments. But I believe that the bill which is before the House is one essential to the great interests, to the peace and quiet of the country, and I desire it to be passed, and not be encumbered with anything else. *I have further to say, that the precise bills which have passed the Senate shall (if I have the opportunity to give my vote upon them) receive my vote as separate and distinct measures. I am willing to vote for each one of them; but in case they should not succeed separately, I am willing to vote for them all in one bill.* But I do not consider that the best policy. I am willing to vote for this bill, the Territorial bills, the California bill, separately or together. I believe, however, that each one of them standing by itself, separately, on its own merits, will command more strength in this House. Let us try at least the strength of this bill, as it stands by itself, unencumbered with any amendments. If it fails, we can then try what we can do by connecting other measures with it. And with the view of the House trying the strength of it, instead of longer trying the strength of our lungs and the patience of the House and the country, I move the previous question."

It will be seen by this, that Mr. Ashmun now declares his readiness to abandon the Proviso, and to take the Territorial bills with an express provision that when the Territories are admitted as States, they shall come into the Union with or without slavery, as they shall prefer.

Mr. McClernand, of Illinois, then moved to commit the bill to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

Mr. Root, of Ohio, moved to amend the motion to commit, by adding the following words: "With instructions so to amend the bill as to exclude slavery from all the territory acquired from Mexico by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, lying eastward of California."

On this, Mr. Brooks of New York, Mr. A. G. Brown of Mississippi, and Mr. Gorman of Indiana, made speeches, on the general subject of the Texas boundary, slavery in the Territories, &c. It is well known that there is not a more extreme pro-slavery man in the House, nor, indeed, in the nation, than the Hon. A. G. Brown. During the present session, he has declared his belief that "slavery is a moral, social, political, and religious blessing." His speech on the present occasion, in reference to the Texas boundary, the exclusion of slavery from the Territories, by present or by *future* legislation, was in strict conformity with his previously-avowed opinions. It will, therefore, give the liveliest idea of this debate to say, that Mr. Brooks of New York, and Mr. Gorman of Indiana, said everything that even Mr. Brown could desire them to say.

So fares, at Northern hands, the great question of Human Rights, in the House of Representatives of the United States—a House, the vast majority of whom were chosen, and otherwise could not have been chosen, for the express and universally understood and pledged purpose of applying the Proviso to, and excluding all possibility of slavery from the Territories. *

VIRGINIA CONVENTION.

The election in Virginia for delegates to a State Convention to remodel the Constitution, is said to have resulted largely in favor of the radicals. We are unable to form an opinion as to the nature of Virginia radicalism, but we presume it will not touch, or not materially change, the basis of representation. That basis, under the existing Constitution, is property without reference to population; and the consequence is, that the portion of the State east of the Blue Ridge, with about two-fifths of the white inhabitants, has three-fifths of the representation in both branches of the Legislature. A Convention constituted upon the same basis, we apprehend, will not materially change it. The right of suffrage will probably be made universal, because that arrangement cannot affect the balance between the east and the west while the basis of representation is property.

The Convention may give the election of Governor to the people; and, indeed, we can see no plausible ground for withholding that right, if, as is said, the judges, sheriffs, clerks, &c., are to be thus chosen.

It would be a great mitigation of the injustice of the present Constitution to adopt the Federal basis of representation, at least for the House of Delegates; such a change, with the rapid progress of the western portion of the State in wealth and population, would soon give it the ascendency in the Legislature. *

GEN. WILLIAM L. CHAPLIN.

We have seen it stated by a correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, signing himself "Southerner," that Gen. Chaplin denies having fired upon the officers of the law on the night of his capture. He is said to be opposed on principle to the shedding of blood, his sentiments on the subject being similar to those of the Peace Societies. It is proper that this fact should go before the public, as a statement of a very opposite character has been widely circulated, calculated to affect him very injuriously. The writer in the *Tribune* states the facts on the authority of Gen. Chaplin himself, and, we presume, correctly. *

OREGON.

We would call attention to the "view of things in Oregon," as presented by two correspondents of California papers, to be found in another column.

We have seen so many conflicting statements relative to the value of that country, that it is difficult to form a decided opinion on the subject. We however arrive at the conclusion, that while its soil and climate are not equal to those of the Mississippi valley, they are nevertheless such as to make Oregon, in conjunction with other favorable circumstances, as its gold mines, its immense bodies of valuable timber, and its location on the Pacific, a country of great importance, and destined to contain a dense population, at no very distant day.

The recently discovered gold mines in that Territory will cause its rapid settlement; and in view of its greater agricultural and manufacturing capabilities, there is reason to expect that it will not be a whit behind California in population, in a few years. We should consider it a far better country for a permanent abode than California, in every respect. The population is now perhaps fifteen or twenty thousand, and increasing rapidly. The people, since the discovery of the gold mines in California, have done a lucrative business in the sale of lumber and provisions to the gold diggers. *

CANADA.

We hear little now-a-days about the annexation of the British Provinces to the United States. The fever appears to have died away for the present, though we have no doubt of the ultimate admission of those Provinces into our Union as States. It is impossible that a great and free people like those upon our Northern border will for a great while submit to be held in leading-strings by the English nation Those Provinces are now in a state of subjection to the Crown and Parliament of a country one fourth their size, situated three thousand miles off; and they have nothing to do in making the paramount laws which they are called on to obey. This state of inferiority will not and ought not to be submitted to longer than necessity or prudence may dictate. In proportion as these people advance in population and power, the passion for independence will grow upon them; and at the same time the relative power of their southern neighbors of the United States among the nations of the world will be greatly augmented, and strongly tend to embolden them to insist upon their rights. Ten years from to-day, the hold of Great Britain upon her North American Provinces will be a rope of sand. The population of the several Provinces is at present as follows:

Provinces and Islands.		*Cities.*	
Canada West -	750,000	Montreal -	48,207
Canada East -	790,000	Quebec -	37,365
New Brunswick -	180,000	St. John -	15,000
Nova Scotia -	240,000	Halifax -	20,000
Prince Edward's Is. -	30,000	Toronto } Canada -	20,000
Cape Breton -	30,000	Kingston { West -	15,000
Newfoundland -	100,000	St. Johns -	12,000

These Provinces once free from Great Britain, annexation will be a matter of course. In joining our Union they sacrifice neither independence nor liberty. They become the equals of the American States, not their subjects. *

LITERARY NOTICES.

The Christian Parlor Magazine. For July. New York: Wyn. Pratt. Washington: W. Adam.

This is a highly interesting number, and contains an article on the "Heroic Period of the Christian History" by Rev. Albert Barnes, a poem entitled "Years" by Mrs. Sigourney, and an amusing paper on the "Mysterious Knockings." *

Address of the Twenty Second Anniversary of the American Peace Society. By Rev. H. L. Stone, Pastor of Park street Church, Boston. Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co. Pp. 36.

We are glad to see the activity and zeal so successfully presented in this address, which characterizes this Society. Its end and aim is "peace on earth and good will to men." The annual Report appended to this address shows their operations for the last year. We have room only for a short extract. The Secretary says:

"Publications.—Besides the circulation of our periodicals, our tracts, and our standard volumes, during the year, there has been issued of Judge Jay's Review of the Mexican War 17,000 copies, and of Mr. Livermore's Prize Review 7,000, making in all 24,000; a larger number of bound volumes than the friends of peace have ever before distributed in this country. We have the last year published, and mostly put in circulation, an amount of matter on the subject of peace equal to nearly SEVEN MILLIONS of tract pages." *

Reply to the Remarks of the Rev. Moses Stuart on John Jay, and an examination of his scriptural exegisis contained in his recent pamphlet, entitled "Conscience and the Constitution." By Wm Jay. New York: J. A. Gray. Pp. 22.

Mr. Jay with his usual power and felicity of style defends the memory of his distinguished father from the assertion of Professor Stuart, that John Jay would have sanctioned the speech of Mr. Webster, and the views of slavery he has himself given in his pamphlet, "Conscience and the Constitution." This is done by quotations from papers of the Anti-Slavery Society, assembled in 1785, of which Judge Jay was President. The reply to the Professor's "exegisis" is very sharp. We hope Mr. Webster and Professor Stuart may never have their principles put to test, and be required to show their "slavority" in the pursuit of a runaway slave. *

Report of the Naval Committee on establishing a line of mail steamships to the western coast of Africa, and thence via the Mediterranean to London. Washington: Gideon & Co. Pp. 79.

This is an able report, made by Hon. Fred. P. Stanton, Chairman of the Committee of House of Representatives on 23d July last, and presents information connected with the present state of trade on the coast of Africa of great interest. One fact is this, the average import of palm oil into Liverpool for some years past has been 15,000 tons, valued at two hundred thousand pounds sterling. *

Annual Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools of Connecticut to the General Assembly at the May Session, 1850. Document No. 12. New Haven: Osborn & Baldwin. Pp. 80 and Appendix.

This shows a state of progress which is most noble and honorable. There is among the papers of the appendix a paper on school architecture, a most important subject, and which is illustrated by a variety of plans and front and side elevations. Nor is *that first want, fresh air*, overlooked. *

Progress of the Northwest—an annual discourse before the Historical Society of Ohio. By the President, William D. Gallagher. Delivered April 8, 1850, on the occasion of the commemoration of the Sixty Second Anniversary of the first settlement of the State. Cincinnati: H. W. Derby & Co. Pp. 88.

This is a topic full of grand achievements and glorious anticipations, and is here considered under "facts of past progress of the Northwestern States and the conditions of future advancement." *

Sidonia, the Sorceress. By William Meihold, author of "the Amber Witch." New York: Harper & Brothers Washington: W. Adam.

This is a work founded on historical facts, connected with the trial for witchcraft of the Lady Canoness of Tomoranid, Sidonia von Bork, and is full of illustration of the manners of that age. We may rely on the fidelity of the gifted author, whose Amber Witch is considered in Germany a modern miracle, for its truthfulness, and, as such, misled the most sagacious scholars of the day. *

Easy Lessons in Landscape Drawing. For the use of those learning to draw without a teacher. By F. N. Otis. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway, Parts 1, 2, 3.

These lessons consist of lithograph plates in all respects resembling pencil sketches, and carry on the learner from strait lines to a series of very pretty landscapes; and the steps are so obvious that if these are followed, the last lesson will be as easy to accomplish as the first. We commend these "Easy Lessons" to the attention of parents and teachers. *

A Second Book in Greek. By John McCulloch, D. D., late Professor of Ancient Languages in Dickinson College. New York: Harper & Brothers. Washington: Franck Taylor.

This is the complement to the "First Book in Greek," published by Doctor McCulloch some time since, and contains the Syntax in as full a form as is adapted to elementary instruction. There is appended a list of Particles and Phrases, modified from Buttman and Arnold; and, also, a series of reading lessons wholly made from Xenophon's Anabasis; the outlines of Prosody and of the Homeric Dialect; Reading Lessons in verse; and a very full vocabulary. It is handsomely printed on good paper, and is a valuable addition to works in aid of the acquisition of Greek. *

Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Agriculture of the State of Ohio, for the year 1849. Printed by order of the Senate, January, 1850. Columbus, O.: L. L. Rice. 1850. Pp. 300.

This report, made by M. L. Sullivan, President, presents the general results of the year 1849, and is accompanied by an abstract of the proceedings of the several County Agricultural Societies, Professor Cowles of Oberlin College, Essay on Agriculture and Science, an "Analysis of Indian Corn" by D. Lapham, a most important paper, and also a paper on "advantages of thorough cultivation" by Levi Heald of Washington county, Ohio. Nothing can give a better idea of the sagacity and success of the farmers of that intelligent State than the report affords. It is indeed a noble State, worthy of the leadership of the West. *

New Grammar for Germans to learn the English Language. By P. Gands. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Washington: R. Farnham. Pp. 599.

This Grammar is after the method of Ollendorf, which has been so well received in this country. *

MICHIGAN.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Dear Sir: If the South supposes that the formidable array of Clay, Cass, and Webster, on the side of slavery extension, produces the slightest impression on the sentiments, convictions, and determination of the great body of the North, they err grossly. Mr. Webster's great logical powers may sway men's judgments—never a rooted sentiment of the heart, which his own eloquence had served to engrave more deeply. His effort has fallen dead. His apologies for slavery stink in the nostrils of the North. Gigantic as may be his intellect, it is astonishing, it is passing strange, that men of smaller caliber, with insidious designs, could persuade him that he can have a corporal's guard at the South arrayed in his favor. Strange infatuation in the great men at Washington and their followers, to suppose that we backwoodsmen do not see through their bids for Southern support. We understand it well. Some of us try in our humble way to unmask it.

From a recent vote in our Legislature, you may infer that the people of Michigan would consent to the addition of more slave States to the Union. In the first place, the vote was carried in the Senate by the casting vote of the Lieutenant Governor, who was elected last fall as an anti-Cass, Wilmot Proviso man, and could not have been elected on other terms. It was carried thus by treachery in the Senate. In the House, the vote was twenty-four to twenty. There were twenty-two absentees, many of whom, before the people, were reputed or pledged Wilmot Proviso men. The vaunted expression of Michigan, is an expression of a minority of the Legislature, obtained by treachery and deception. The truth is, that Cass and his disciples have been pouring into Michigan all winter the most puerile and senseless warnings against a full and manly expression of the people. They have pretended to believe that the Union was in danger, that the South would secede, that the plan of a Southern Union was made up, if we were not bullied into submission. The Legislature and the people were flooded with all sorts of stuff calculated to create alarm. But of one thing you may remain sure, that if any party, or any and all combinations of parties would dare to-morrow bring before the people of this State a single candidate on the plain and distinct issue that he was in favor, under any circumstances or at any time, of adding another slave State to this Union, he would not obtain one-fourth the votes. They may again (as they have heretofore) send tools to the Legislature, under the pretence that such would be true to the sentiments of their constituents; and then by the Cass jugglery, which the people begin to understand, and by threats of vengeance from the local press, may wheedle the people into the support of Cass for United States Senator. But I do not believe it. Really not one quarter of the voters of this State believe in or are inclined to tolerate any doughfaceism, any concession, any compromise. * * * *

VIEW OF THINGS IN OREGON.

Correspondence of the California Courier.

Oregon City, *June* 12, 1850.

That Oregon is destined to be the great producing and manufacturing country for all the Pacific, there is no doubt by any who have ever seen its fertile valleys and magnificent waterfalls. As a lumber country, it is superior to any I ever visited, the extent and magnificence of its forests, towering almost to the clouds; and these forests being all in the western part of the territory and on the banks of the rivers, give it a peculiar advantage in the department of commerce above all others. Did the people of California know of the easy access of those forests, and their contiguity to waterfalls and navigable rivers, they would no longer have any occasion to send to the States for lumber, for there is more in Oregon than sufficient to build up all the cities that are needed on the Pacific coast. But I shall fail to give any adequate idea of those forests; they must be seen to be realized.

The first emigrants who arrived in Oregon settled in that beautiful valley, the Willamette, which is the garden of Oregon, and I may say of the world. The Willamette river is the great southern tributary of the magnificent Columbia. The valley through which it runs, in point of extent, richness, beauty, and fertility, stands prominent above all others on the great American continent. The length of the valley, from north to south, is about 250 miles, its width from the summit of the Cascades to the summit of the coast range is about 100 miles; the width of the arable portion of the valley is about 40 miles, and through the centre of this extensive valley the Willamette river pursues its meandering course, being augmented by streams every few miles, running down from the mountain on each side, thus watering the great extent of country, and giving it that luxuriance and beauty which it is impossible to describe. The mountains on each side are covered with tall pines, cedars, fir, hemlock, &c., &c., which make these streams that run down their sides invaluable, not only for supplying water to the valley below, but for mill sites. The valley is about two-thirds prairie, beautifully interspersed with timber sufficient for all farming purposes. No wonder that the first emigrants stopped here, for here they could exclaim, Eureka! The river is navigable for steamboats about one hundred miles, and for six months of the year about one hundred and fifty miles above the falls of the Willamette, where Oregon City is situated, being about thirty miles from its mouth.

The Umpqua valley, which is south of the Willamette, running east and west, is in extent equal to about one-half, and is watered by a magnificent river of the same name, which makes its way through the coast ridge of mountain, and empties into the sea.

This valley is capable of sustaining a dense population, as the farms are very rich and fertile, particularly the river bottom. There are but few settlements, and its extent is, as yet, not fully known, never having been explored only by parties crossing it at different points. I see there is a company organizing in this city to explore its mouth and make a settlement, and I hope they will ascertain fully the extent and capabilities of the magnificent valley.

If these two valleys were all that Oregon contained, they would be enough to make one of the richest States in our glorious Confederacy. But this is but a small portion of Oregon. I have said nothing of the Columbia valley, and that great river which rises in the Rocky Mountains, running through a district of country more than a thousand miles in extent, before it empties into the ocean.

The advantages possessed in Oregon, as a manufacturing country, are surpassed by none on account of its extensive water power. At Oregon City, where the waters of the Willamette take a perpendicular descent of about twenty-five feet, are advantages for manufacturing purposes far surpassing Rochester, New York.

On the Columbia river, at the Cascades, about 130 miles from its mouth, is another favorable point for mills, marked out by nature, where that river takes a descent of some twelve or fifteen feet. These two places alone will give sufficient power to turn machinery enough for our whole country.

But the water power is not confined to these places; it is scattered all over that great and extensive country. There is no country so well watered, where rivers, streams, and rivulets, are in such great abundance as Oregon, and the position of the country being mountainous, all the smaller streams of course must be rapid, consequently producing great advantages for mills.

As a mineral country, I have no doubt that Oregon is very rich, but as yet it has never been examined. In this day, where nothing but gold will satisfy, men will not stop for minerals of less value. That here are gold mines, there is no question, for they are now successfully worked in the southern portion of Oregon; how extensive they may prove to be, remains yet to be seen. The report with regard to gold on the Columbia, in the Spocon country, has come so authenticated, that I cannot doubt it for a moment, yet I would not vouch for it, not having seen it. But if it should be true that gold is found away at the extreme north line of the territory, I can see no reason why the Cascade ridge should not be as rich as the Sierra Nevada, for it is the same continued ridge of mountain.

But we are rich enough without gold. Oregon possesses natural elements of greatness enough to make her by far the greatest country on this coast, and I am glad to see attention beginning to turn that way; towns and cities are beginning to spring into existence at the different prominent points on the rivers and elsewhere; exertions are now being made to give them that influence and benefit to the country which their position demands. Soon we shall see the majestic steamboat navigating these noble rivers, and soon we shall see a city on the shores of that beautiful bay at the mouth of the great Columbia, which will give to Oregon what she has long needed, a seaport town suitable for a commercial depot for that great country. Americans have taken hold of it in earnest, and that is a sufficient guarantee.

From the Pacific News.

San Francisco, *June* 17, 1850.

None familiar with the extent and peculiar features of Oregon, but must be impressed that three great and important towns must necessarily spring up in her midst. The first has already come into consideration in my last article, namely, Oregon City, at the Falls of the Willamette. The second is situated at the cascades of the Columbia, and the third at the mouth of that great river, the natural outlet for all the products of Oregon. As Oregon City is to the great and extended valleys of the Willamette and Umpqua, so is Cascade City to all the upper valleys of the Columbia. It is situated at the foot of the cascades, where the Columbia river takes an almost perpendicular descent of twelve or fifteen feet, about 130 miles from its mouth, and some 40 miles above the mouth of the Willamette, the great southern tributary.

This, like Oregon City, must be regarded as the natural distributing and manufacturing point, and although both the Columbia and Willamette rivers are navigable for sailing vessels of the largest size, to the cascades on the Columbia, and to Portland on the Willamette, and thence nearly to Oregon City, yet steamboats are about to claim their proper province, and transact all the business on these formidable waters.

In the immediate vicinity of this place, which has been but recently surveyed, are extensive coal beds, specimens of which are now exhibited in this city, and by its brilliancy and specific gravity is believed to be a superior quality. Mr. Johnson, the principal proprietor, speaks favorably of the extent and easy access of this important mine. This adds considerably to the importance of this position.

Pacific City, as the little hamlet or nucleus of a commercial town is called, is situated at the northern entrance of the Columbia. The importance of this position can hardly be over-estimated, as the Columbia is the only feasible and natural outlet of the whole of Oregon, for rendering this one seaport town to the west, what Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, are to the east. This will be the more fully realized when we consider its contiguity to China, the Sandwich islands, California, and all the northwest coast; and their mutual dependence upon each other in their commercial relations. Baker's bay is a safe harbor, and sufficiently ample to meet the wants of a large commercial town.

The site for Pacific City is well watered, on high and commanding ground, and sufficiently timbered for all city purposes. A company is already organized for the purpose of erecting a large steam saw mill with other machinery attached; and vigorous measures are now in prosecution for the construction of wharves and warehouses, and such other improvements as are required in a seaport town.

Arrangements have been made, soon to be consummated, for a line of steamboats to run from this city to Pacific City; another from the latter place to Oregon City, and a third from Oregon City to the upper waters of the Willamette—thus bringing the passengers and produce of that fertile region to Pacific City, the great natural emporium of the country. Mr. J. D. Holman, an enterprising merchant of Oregon City, is now to remove to this place, where arrangements are in progress for the carrying forward of his legitimate business. He also made the most ample preparations for the travelling public, by the purchase of a hotel, completely furnished in every respect, 52 feet in front, by 180 feet in depth.

Several merchants of Oregon City, Sacramento, and this city, have already purchased largely in Pacific, and, as soon as buildings necessary for their business can be erected, will remove or establish branch houses there.

In looking upon Oregon in all its relations, I cannot but be interested in this beginning of an emporium so important to shipping and the commerce of the west. Through the winter season, the winds prevail from the east, and almost as uniformly from the west during the summer, so much so as to cut off all prospect of liberal gain in the use of sailing vessels upon these otherwise favorable waters. Commerce has been retarded exceedingly, especially during the past winter, as many of your own citizens can bear me testimony, for the want of river steamers, and an emporium at the mouth, from whence they might have taken, most advantageously, lumber, passengers, and the various other commodities of the country.

IMPORTANT FROM NEW MEXICO.

The *Louisville Journal* of the 25th publishes a correspondence between Colonel Munroe, the civil and military Governor of New Mexico, and Lieutenant Governor Alvarez, one of the officers under the recent State organization. The *Journal* says:

"The intelligence was brought by Major Weightman, U. S. Senator elect from the State of New Mexico, who arrived at St. Louis on Thursday, *en route* for Washington, where he will present and press the claims of the new State for admission into the Union.

"The violence of the contest between the parties for and against a State Government was very great. The friends of the State Government carried every county, save one."

Col. Munroe sends to Lieutenant Governor Alvarez an extract from an order which he received from the War Department in May last, which is in substance the principle laid down by the U. S. Supreme Court on the transfer of the ceded territory. The following, in reference to the inhabitants of New Mexico, is the gist of it:

"They do not, however, participate in political power; they do not share in the Government till [New Mexico] shall become a State. In the mean time [New Mexico] continues to be a Territory of the United States, governed by that clause of the Constitution which empowers Congress to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property belonging to the United States."

Col. Munroe then asks attention to the following passage in his proclamation calling an election for an Executive and Legislature to constitute a State Government:

"All action by the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, and of the Legislature, shall remain inoperative until New Mexico be admitted as a State; under said Constitution, except such acts as may be necessary for the primary steps of organization and the presentation of said Constitution properly before the Congress of the United States.

"'The present Government shall remain in full force until, by the action of Congress, another shall be constituted.'"

In view of these things, Col. Munroe says:

"I now declare that the nomination of officers, and their confirmation, to assume the exercise of functions which, by superseding the officers now in commission, will affect the laws of this Territory, as at present constituted, will be deemed and considered as an act, on the part of all concerned, in direct violation of their duties as citizens of the United States.

"My official obligations imperatively require that the present Government be sustained until superseded by another legally constituted, and this duty I will fulfil with all the means at my disposal."

Here follows a reply from Alvarez, in which occurs the following paragraph:

"Be assured that no collision will succeed, nor any embarrassment interrupt the quiet action of the Legislature and the people, unless it be provoked and be brought about by military interference. The people are peaceably disposed, fully aware of the pacific remedy that exists for the Government grievances they have long endured, and will not readily consent to surrender their dearest rights, and the hope, long deferred, of ameliorating their social and political condition."

EXECUTION OF PROFESSOR WEBSTER.

BOSTON, *August* 30, 1850.

Professor Webster, after his family left him last evening—in happy unconsciousness, as he believed and declared, that the period of his execution was so near at hand—was searched, and then conveyed to a different cell from that he had occupied, to prevent any possibility of suicide, in case he had meditated such purpose. Dr. Putnam remained with him until nine o'clock, and from that hour until twelve, he passed the time in conversation on devotional subjects with his watchors. At twelve, he fell into a doze, and though not sleeping for any long period, his slumbers were light and apparently easy. During the intervals of waking he conversed freely with his companions, speaking of his impending fate with fortitude and resignation, and expressing special gratification that his family had been kept in ignorance of the time fixed for his death. As the day began to break, and the various sounds peculiar to the dawn reached his cell, he exhibited some agitation—probably at the reflection that he had heard them for the last time—but he soon regained his composure.

By advice, he made a light breakfast, taking only tea and bread, and invited the officers to partake, offering them the bread himself, and exhibiting great courtesy as well as self-possession in his manner. He subsequently made the necessary preparations for ascending the scaffold, with coolness and deliberation. About nine this morning the final religious ceremonies were commenced by Dr. Putnam. He engaged in a fervent prayer, in which he invoked the presence, spirit, and grace of God for the unhappy man so soon to die. He prayed that his repentance, which he trusted and believed was sincere, might be accepted, and that he might be prepared, through mercy, to meet the awful doom which awaited him. He prayed also for the prisoner's family, that when their time of death should come, they might meet the prisoner in heaven, where there would be no sundering the ties of affection. He prayed also for the murdered man's family, and for the sheriff, his assistants, the witnesses of the execution, and generally for all persons.

After the prayer, the prisoner's arms were pinioned, and about twenty minutes after nine he was brought forth to die. He was accompanied to the gallows by Dr. Putnam, and on his way thither his step was firm, though his face was of a deadly pallor. He look was that of one who had committed deadly sin, which he was about to expiate with his life.

On arriving at the scaffold, the sheriff read the death-warrant, during which Prof. Webster was engaged in earnest conversation with Dr. Putnam. At its conclusion, his legs were pinioned, and the rope was placed about his neck. This caused him to blush, and there were evident signs of a suppressed powerful feeling. The black cap was then placed on his head, and the sheriff proclaimed with a loud voice that he was about to do execution on the body of John W. Webster, for the murder of Dr. George Parkman. This announcement caused a movement of the prisoner's body, whose face was hid from view.

At twenty minutes before ten, everything being in readiness, the spring was touched, the drop was opened, and with a fall of nearly eight feet, the wretched man was cast into eternity, to meet that God whose commands he had so fearfully violated. He died apparently without a struggle.

After being suspended half an hour, the body was taken down and examined, and life being found extinct, it was placed in a jail coffin, to be sent to Cambridge.

The interest excited by the case of Professor Webster was universal, and there was manifested an intense anxiety, among all classes, to witness his fate. About three hundred persons, including the police and newspaper reporters, were admitted to the jail-yard; and the house-tops and windows adjoining were crowded with spectators, among whom there were a number of ladies. The streets leading to and in the vicinity of the prison were also filled. The scaffold—which was erected this morning—was so placed that it could be seen from several points outside of the jail, and every available spot was occupied. Notwithstanding the large assemblage, there was no disorder.

It is not believed that Professor Webster had made any confession since that already published. It is possible he may have furnished in letters to some of his connections fuller details of his crime, but it is not probable that these will be printed.

For the National Era.

FREE SOIL MEETING IN IOWA.

[ABRIDGED]

Pursuant to previous notice, a meeting of a portion of the citizens of Linn county, Iowa, was held at Mt. Vernon, in said county, the 4th July, 1850, to express their views of the questions now agitating the public mind in Iowa.

The meeting was organized by calling A. I. Willits to the Chair.

I. H. Julian, after some prefatory remarks, offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That as freemen assembled on this the birth-day of our liberties, we declare our continued attachment to the political principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, as exemplified by the framers of those instruments, the founders of our Government.

Resolved, That we adhere with unabated devotion to the Wilmot Proviso, or the principle, coeval with the Government, by whatever name it may be called, of restricting slavery, by act of Congress, to the States where only it legally exists; and we believe that nothing short of an enactment of this sort can allay the present agitation of the subject of slavery.

Resolved, That we are in favor of the immediate passage of a bill for the admission of California, unconnected with any other matter whatever; that the attempt to connect her admission with other measures, not only totally irrelevant, but intrinsically disgraceful, in order to to propitiate the slave power, is an insult to all freemen; and that Thomas H. Benton, for his noble efforts to thwart this attempt, deserves the thanks and plaudits of every patriot.

Resolved, That, as citizens of Iowa, we feel deeply her humiliating position, with reference to the great question of the day; more especially as contrasted with that of her younger sister, Wisconsin; and that we will use our best efforts for her political regeneration.

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this meeting, our *Democratic* Senators and Representatives in Congress have done themselves no credit by flooding this country as they have done, to the neglect of everything on the other side, with the recent speeches of Messrs. Clay and Webster—speeches disgraceful to their authors and to the American Congress.

Resolved, That we will support no man for any office of political responsibility and influence, who will not unequivocally declare himself in favor of restricting slavery by act of Congress; and we hold it to be the duty of the friends of that doctrine, to organize with reference to it, as the paramount political question of the day. Therefore,

Resolved, That we will cast our votes for the Free Soil State ticket, and also for the nominees of Free Soil county and district conventions, should such be held.

N. W. Isbell offered the following additional resolution, which was unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That the concessions attempted to be obtained from the North by the (so called) "compromise bill," are the sacrifices of moral right and civil liberty to cupidity and avarice—a sacrifice which we cannot make without feeling ourselves recreant to to our consciences and our God.

On motion, copies of the foregoing resolutions were directed to be forwarded for publication to the *Iowa True Democrat* and the *National Era*.

Arrangements were made for holding, at an early day, conventions to nominate a county Free Soil ticket and a candidate for Representative to Congress. The meeting was very well attended, and the utmost harmony prevailed.

A. I. WILLITS, *Chairman*.

FOREIGN NEWS.

The steamer Atlantic having arrived at New York, we extract the following intelligence:

FRANCE.

The President of the Republic arrived at Louis le Saulnier on the evening of the 17th, at ten o'clock. Throughout his journey the population hastened to meet him, and everywhere afforded him the most remarkable proofs of the warmest sympathy. The accounts of the President's favorable reception, and his judicious speeches in the provinces, gave confidence to speculators.

The commercial reports for the past week state that all manufacturers of cotton, wool, and silk, are in full work, and cannot meet demands.

The corn markets all note advanced and advancing prices.

On the Bourse, fives opened at 97½, but gave way, closing at 97.30; threes closed at 58.60.

Advices report that much rain had fallen during the week. The wheat now out would be seriously injured, and prices have advanced. Similar accounts are received from Belgium.

The following is the speech of Louis Napoleon at the Lyons banquet:

"Monsieur le Maire: I sincerely hope that the city of Lyons, of which you are the worthy interpreter, will receive the sincere expression of my gratitude for the kind reception it has given me. [Applause.] The object of my visit is the hope that my presence amongst you may tend to encourage the good, to induce those who have been led astray to return to sober reason, and to judge by myself of the sentiments and the necessities of the country. [Great applause.] The task I have undertaken requires your coöperation: and that your coöperation may be frankly given, as it will be frankly received, I will now tell you, from my heart, *what I am and what I want*. [Great sensation.] Gentlemen, I am the representative not of a party, but of the two great national manifestations, which in 1844, as in 1848, desired to save, by means of order, the great principles of the French Revolution. [Applause.] Proud of my origin and of my standard, I shall ever remain faithful to both. I am and shall be totally and completely at the disposal of the country, no matter what is required of me, whether it be abnegation or perseverance. Rumors of *coups d'état* have perhaps reached even you, gentlemen; but you have not believed them, and I thank you. [Loud applause.]

"Such things can only be the dream of parties without support in the nation; but the man who is the chosen of 6,000,000 of suffrages, executes the will of the people, and does not betray them. [Thunders of applause.] Patriotism, gentlemen, consists in abnegation as well as in perseverance. [Sensation.] In presence of general danger, all personal ambition must disappear. In this case patriotism is recognised, as the maternity was recognised in a celebrated case. You remember the two women that claimed the same child. By what sign did they recognise the real mother? Why, by the renunciation of the rights wrung from her by the peril that hung over her beloved! [Great applause.] Let the parties that love France not forget this sublime lesson. *For my part, I shall always remember it.* [Immense applause.] But, on the other hand, if culpable pretensions were revived, and menaced the tranquillity of France, I shall know how to render them impotent, by again invoking the sovereignty of the people; for I do not admit that any one has a greater right to call himself representative of the people than myself."

ITALY.

The Pope is in sad perplexity, in consequence of the conviction of six murderers, to whose sentence of decapitation he is called upon to affix his name. No execution has yet taken place under the reign of Pius IX, owing to his invincible reluctance to sign a death-warrant. He wishes the miscreants to be sent to the galleys for the rest of their lives; but the Government and the Judges are not inclined to give way.

Accounts from Verona state that the Austrian Government had rejected the propositions of the Lombardo Venitian deputies relative to the loan of 120,000,000 florins. The Government does not wish to pledge itself not to issue any paper money in those provinces.

SCHLESWIG HOLSTEIN.

RENDSBURGH, *August* 16.—At present there is a complete suspension of the operations of both armies, but an engagement looked for. Weather intensely hot, but measures are being taken to preserve the health of the troops.

The towns of Sonninen and Frederickstadt had been occupied by the Holstein troops after the Danes had visited them, and the Schleswig-Holstein riflemen had recaptured 400 oxen from the Danes on their route to Schleswig, and brought them in safety to the Holstein territory. The cholera has been making fearful ravages in Brunswick; since the month of June, 300 persons had died.

On the 7th instant the King of Denmark contracted a morganatic marriage with Lola Rasmussen. The marriage was celebrated by the Bishop of Jutland. Mdmlle. Rasmussen was formerly a milliner, and was well known to the Copenhagen corps of officers; she then became acquainted with the King, and has now been raised to the rank of Baroness Danner. She has great influence over the King; persons well informed state that she exercises her influence in the Danish revolutionary cause, and was the person that induced the King to make such sudden concessions to the Casino club in the Copenhagen revolution of 1849. The marriage is so far important, that it confirms the extinction of the royal house of Denmark. On this ground the ministry opposed this union till the protocol was signed; this done, the marriage was to the interest of Russia.

The *Kolner Zeitung* has a telegraphic despatch from Hamburg to the 17th ult., stating that an engagement took place on the evening of the 16th, between a Danish steamer, accompanied by two gun-boats, and a Holstein steamer, (the Lowe,) which was likewise supported by two gun-boats. The combat continued throughout the night, and at half-past seven in the morning the Danish vessels retreated. The Lowe has suffered from the enemy's fire, and one of the gun-boats was in danger of being burnt.

PRUSSIA AND AUSTRIA.

We learn from a telegraphic despatch, dated Berlin, August 17th, in the *Kolner Zeitung*, that the Austrian invitation for another Diet (Bundestag) reached Berlin on that day, and that Prussia is resolved to decline accepting any proposal in this or in any similar sense.

Berlin letters, of the 16th August, state that it is now confirmed by the semi-official organs of the Prussian Government that the differences between Prussia and Austria respecting the interpretation of the regulations on the subject of the federal fortresses, (differences which resulted from the refusal of Austria to allow the Baden troops to pass the federal fortress of Mentz,) are about to be submitted to a court of arbitration. Austria has appointed Bavaria. Nothing is known of the power which Prussia is about to appoint.

AUSTRIA.

The fine of 2,000,000 florins imposed on the Hungarian Jews has at length been formally remitted, and they have pledged themselves to deposite in the hands of Government 1,000,000 florins as a fund for Jewish schools. This voluntary tax is to be paid within two years. It is not the intention of Government to proceed to the sale of any of the estates confiscated in Hungary, but to farm them for a period of two or three years. There can be little or no doubt that they will eventually be returned to their former proprietors.

MALTA.

Cholera declining—69 attacks on the 11th, and 60 deaths. On the 12th, 23 attacks and 31 deaths. Total attacks, not including army and navy, 1,817; deaths, 996. At Alexandria the cholera caused many deaths.

SARDINIA.

Advices from Turin, of the 7th instant, state that much agitation existed in consequence of the refusal of the clergy to administer the last sacrament to M. Santa Rosa, Minister of Commerce, on his deathbed.

GREECE.

According to intelligence from Athens of the 7th ult., the King is on the eve of taking a journey, and has appointed a regency, consisting of the Ministers, presided over by the Queen. The Ministers of Justice and the Interior have resigned. Delianni has accepted the latter department, with the interims of Finance and Ecclesiastical Affairs.

SPAIN.

Letters from Spain notice a French proposal brought before the delegate of the foreign bondholders by the President of the Public Debts Committee. The principle involves the creation of a three per cent. stock, with a recognition of the common arrears, on which a gradual rise to a maximum of one and a half per cent. interest is to take place. Nothing, however, was decided. The Government, it was reported, contemplated reforms and modifications more favorable to free trade in the customs tariff.

Accounts from Madrid, of the 12th ultimo, state that the Government is actively employed in the organization of a corps of 4,000 men to reinforce the garrison of Cuba.

CONGRESS.

THIRTY-FIRST CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

SENATE.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 27, 1850.

Mr. Underwood moved, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of the bill for the relief of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad Company. The object of the bill is to refund to this company, the assignee of the State of Virginia, one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, advanced by the State to the United States, to aid in the erection of public buildings at the seat of Government.

Messrs. Mason, Underwood, Hunter, Butler, Cass, Rusk, Dawson, Berrien, Pratt, and Foote, supported the measure, and Messrs. Badger, Bradbury, Dayton, and Baldwin, opposed the bill.

The question being taken, the bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Atchison, Barnwell, Bell, Berrien, Butler, Cass, Clay, Dawson, Dodge of Iowa, Douglas, Downs, Foote, Houston, Hunter, Jones, King, Mason, Morton, Pratt, Rusk, Sebastian, Smith, Soulé, Spruance, Turney, Underwood, Wales, and Walker—28.

NAYS—Messrs. Badger, Baldwin, Bradbury, Bright, Chase, Clarke, Cooper, Davis of Massachusetts, Davis of Mississippi, Dayton, Dickinson, Dodge of Wisconsin, Felch, Greene, Hamlin, Pearce, Shields, Sturgeon, Upham, Whitcomb, Winthrop, and Yulee—22.

The bill for the relief of the West Feliciana Railroad Company, yesterday ordered to be engrossed, was read a third time and passed.

The Senate then went into Executive session.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 28, 1850.

The following resolution, submitted by Mr. Underwood, being under consideration—

Resolved, (as an amendment to the rules,) That motion may be made to lay any proposition to a amend a bill or resolution upon the table; and if it prevail, the proposed amendment shall be laid on the table, but the bill or resolution shall not go with it—

Mr. Bradbury moved to lay the resolution on the table; and the motion was rejected—yeas 13, nays 18

Messrs. Underwood, Cass, and Foote, advocated the resolution, and Messrs. Hunter, Dickinson, Douglas, and Butler, opposed it.

Mr. Shields moved, and the subject was postponed for the present.

Mr. Clay moved to take up the bill to abolish the slave trade in the District of Columbia, with a view of fixing a day for its consideration; and the motion was agreed to.

Mr. Clay then moved that the bill be postponed, and made the special order of the day for Monday next.

Messrs. Pearce and Foote presented amendments (which were ordered to be printed) hereafter to be proposed to the bill.

Mr. Atchison, by way of having a test vote on the bill, moved that it be laid on the table.

The question being taken by yeas and nays, the motion was negatived—yeas 16, nays 36—as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Atchison, Barnwell, Berrien, Butler, Davis of Mississippi, Dawson, Downs, Houston, Hunter, Mason, Pratt, Rusk, Sebastian, Soulé, Turney, and Yulee—16.

NAYS—Messrs. Badger, Baldwin, Bell, Benton, Bradbury, Bright, Cass, Chase, Clarke, Clay, Cooper, Davis of Massachusetts, Dayton, Dickinson, Dodge of Wisconsin, Dodge of Iowa, Douglas, Ewing, Felch, Foote, Green, Hamlin, Jones, King, Mangum, Pearce, Phelps, Shields, Smith, Spruance, Sturgeon, Underwood, Upham, Wales, Whitcomb, and Winthrop—36.

The bill was then postponed, and made the special order of the day for Monday next, at one o'clock.

The Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill, from the House, was referred to the Committee on Finance.

Mr. Shields moved, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of the bill from the House, granting bounty lands to officers and soldiers who have been engaged in the military service of the United States.

Messrs. Bradbury and Downs opposed taking up the bill, and Messrs. Shields and Cass supported the motion.

And the question being taken, the motion prevailed—yeas 21, nays 18.

The bill being under consideration, several amendments proposed by the Committee on Public Lands were agreed to.

The last amendment of the committee was to add to the bill the following:

Provided, further, That every person who may be entitled, under the provisions of this act, to receive a certificate or warrant for bounty land, shall be allowed the option to receive such certificate or warrant, or a treasury scrip for one hundred dollars where the quantity of land is one hundred and sixty acres, fifty dollars where the quantity is eighty acres, and twenty-five dollars where the quantity is forty acres; said scrip to bear an interest of six per cent. per annum, payable semi-annually, and redeemable at the pleasure of the Government.

A short debate ensued; and then, on motion of Mr. Badger, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of Executive business.

After some time spent therein, the doors were opened, and the Senate adjourned.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 29, 1850.

The bill making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy was reported, amended slightly, and ordered to be engrossed.

After some time spent in considering the Bounty Land bill, the Senate went into Executive session.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 30, 1850.

In the Senate, a bill granting the right of way and a donation of land to the State of Michigan, to aid in the construction of a ship canal around the falls of the St. Mary's river, was debated, and was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading.

After the consideration of Executive business, the Senate adjourned till Monday.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 31, 1850.

The Senate was not in session to day.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1850.

Mr. Dayton offered a resolution requesting the Secretary of State to transmit to the Senate a copy of the report of Rev. R. R. Gurley, on the commercial and political condition of Liberia; which was agreed to.

Mr. Downs introduced a bill, with explanatory remarks, for granting to Louisiana certain swamp lands, on condition that she reclaims them.

The general bounty land bill, from the House, was further discussed by Messrs. Underwood, Bright, Shields, Jefferson Davis, and others, and postponed till to-morrow.

Mr. Clay called for the bill to suppress the slave trade in the District, and, after some conversation, it was determined, as it was two o'clock, to go into Executive session.

When the doors were opened, the Senate adjourned.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1850.

After the consideration of morning business, a bill to create the office of Surveyor General of the public lands in Oregon, and to provide for the survey and to make donations to settlers of the said public lands, was taken up, debated, and laid over till to-morrow.

Mr. Clay then called up the bill to abolish the slave trade in the District of Columbia; which he supported in some brief remarks.

Mr. Foote moved to amend by substituting provisions placing the whole subject under the control of the corporate authorities of Washington and Georgetown, and empowering said authorities to pass laws and inflict penalties for the abduction or enticement of any slave from the service of his master; also extending the *habeas corpus* to the case of individuals alleged to be slaves who claimed the right to freedom.

Mr. Hunter addressed the Senate at length against the bill, as unconstitutional and aggressive.

After further debate, a motion to postpone the further consideration of the subject until Tuesday next was rejected—yeas 23, nays 27.

Mr. Pearce moved to amend the original bill by adding sections imposing a penalty upon persons convicted of enticing or assisting slaves to escape from their owners, of confinement in the penitentiary for not less than two nor more than ten years.

This amendment, after debate, was agreed to—yeas 26, nays 15.

After further action upon amendments, and without coming to a vote on the bill, the Senate adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 27, 1850.

The House at length disposed of the various items of the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill, and under the operation of the previous question the bill was passed—yeas 132, nays 62—as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Alexander, Allen, Alston, Anderson, Ashmun, Baker, Bayly, Beale, Bennett, Bissell, Bokee, Booth, Bowie, Bowlin, Breck, Briggs, Burrows, Chester Butler, Thomas B. Butler, Cabell, Cable, Joseph P. Caldwell, Calvin, Campbell, Chandler, Clark, Cole, Corwin, Crowell, Deberry, Dixon, Duer, Duncan, Eliot, Alexander Evans, Nathan Evans, Ewing, Fitch, Fowler, Freedley, Fuller, Gentry, Giddings, Gilmore, Gott, Gould, Grinnell, Halloway, Hampton, Hay, Haymond, Henry, Hibbard, Hilliard, Hoagland, Holmes, Houston, Howe, Hunter, J. W. Jackson, Wm. T. Jackson, Julian, G. G. King, J. G. King, John A. King, Preston King, La Sere, Leffler, Littlefield, Horace Mann, Matteson, McClernand, McDowell, McGaughey, McKissock, Robert M. McLane, F. E. McLean, McWillie, Meacham, Moore, Morehead, Morse, Morton, Nelson, Newell, Ogle, Otis, Outlaw, Peaslee, Peck, Phœnix, Pitman, Putnam, Reynolds, Robbins, Rockwell, Root, Rose, Ross, Rumsey, Sackett, Sawtelle, Schermerhorn, Schoolcraft, Seddon, Shepperd, Silvester, Spalding, Sprague, Stanley, F. P. Stanton, Stetson, Strong, J. B. Thompson, Thurman, Tuck, Underhill, Van Dyke, Vinton, Walden, Waldo, Watkins, Wellborn, Wentworth, White, Williams, Wilmot, and Wilson—132.

NAYS—Messrs. Albertson, Ashe, Averett, Bay, Bingham, Bowdon, Boyd, William J. Brown, Buel, Burt, George A. Caldwell, Carter, Clingman, Williamson R. W. Cobb, Colcock, Daniel, Dimmick, Disney, Doty, Dunham, Durkee, Edmundson, Featherston, Gerry, Gorman, Hall, Hamilton, Haralson, Harlan, I. G. Harris, Sampson W. Harris, Howard, Hubbard, Inge, Andrew Johnson, Jones, Job Mann, McDonald, McLanahan, McMullen, McQueen, Meade, Millson, Morris, Owen, Parker, Phelps, Potter, Richardson, Robinson, Savage, Sweetser, Thomas, Jacob Thompson, Toombs, Venable, Wallace, Whittlesey, Wildrick, Wood, Woodward, and Young—62.

Mr. Strong gave notice that he should to-morrow move to take up the report of the Committee of Elections, in the Philadelphia contested election case.

And the House adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 28, 1850.

The House of Representatives, after the transaction of other business, reached the Senate bills on the Speaker's table. The bill establishing the Territorial Government of Utah was referred to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

A vote was taken on rejecting the Texas Boundary bill, and the question was decided in the negative by—yeas 34, nays 168.

Subsequently, Mr. Boyd moved to amend it, by attaching, substantially, the Senate bills providing Territorial Governments for New Mexico and Utah; and, without taking the question, the House adjourned.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 29, 1850.

Mr. Boyd, who yesterday moved to amend the Texas boundary bill by attaching thereto the bills from the Senate, establishing Territorial Governments in New Mexico and Utah, to-day withdrew so much of the amendment as relates to Utah.

Mr. Clingman then offered an amendment to Mr. Boyd's amendment, providing for the establishment of a Territorial Government for South California.

After which, a motion was made to refer the bill and amendments to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and upon this motion the previous question was called.

The effect of the previous question, had the call for it been sustained, as it was explained by the Speaker at the time, would have been to bring the House to a direct vote, first upon the motion to go into Committee of the Whole, and if that was voted down, then to a direct vote upon Mr. Clingman's amendment to Mr. Boyd's amendment, then upon Mr. Boyd's amendment, and lastly upon the Texas boundary bill, whether Mr. Boyd's amendment were adopted or not.

To return to the proceedings of the House. After the call for the previous question was voted down, leaving the motion to refer the bill and amendments to the Committee of the Whole still pending, a motion was made to amend that motion by instructing that Committee to report a bill for the government of the territory lying east of California, with the Wilmot Proviso incorporated into it! Pending that motion, the House adjourned. It will be the first question in order to-morrow, when the House shall have resumed the consideration of the subject.

Speeches were made by Messrs. Root of Ohio and Brooks of New York, the former in favor of the Proviso, the latter against it.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 30, 1850.

The House of Representatives laid on the table the bill to extend the patent for Jethro Wood's cast-iron plough; and, after other proceedings, resumed the consideration of the Texas boundary bill. No question was taken.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 31, 1850.

Mr. Silvester asked the unanimous consent to offer a resolution requesting the President of the United States, if not incompatible with the public interests, to communicate to the House the result of the mission of the Rev. R. R. Gurley to the Republic of Liberia, and especially the report of that gentleman now on the files of the State Department.

Objection was made to the introduction of the resolution.

Mr. Bayly rose to ask the unanimous consent of the House to take up the Indian Appropriation bill. If the House would hear him for a minute, he was quite sure there would be no dissent.

Mr. Sweetser objected.

Mr. Carter moved that the House resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, with a view to proceed to the consideration of Territorial bills.

The Speaker informed the gentleman that it would be for the Committee to decide what business it should consider.

Mr. Daniel moved that the House go into Committee of the Whole on the private calendar; but the motion was disagreed to.

Mr. Thompson of Mississippi appealed to the House to take up the Indian Appropriation bill. He said that the Indians receive their annuities at a certain time, which has nearly arrived. It never can be explained to them why we do not pay to them their money. There is no objection to a single item in the bill.

Mr. Burt rose to a question of order. He had no objection to taking up the bill, but had to the gentleman making a speech.

Mr. Thompson said he was making no speech.

By unanimous consent, the House then took up the bill making appropriations for the support of the Indian Department and for fulfilling treaties with Indian tribes; and under the operation of the previous question it was passed.

The House took up the report made on Wednesday by Mr. Stanly, from the select committee appointed in May last, to ascertain what persons holding office in this city under the last Administration were engaged in electioneering during the Presidential contest, &c., and asking the House to take action on the refusal of Mr. Thomas Ritchie and C. P. Sengstack to answer certain questions asked them by the committee.

Mr. Stanly replied to the remarks of Messrs. Fitch and Meade, delivered on a former occasion, in opposition to the objects of the investigation; and he noticed, among other things, the electioneering conduct of Democratic incumbents under the administration of Mr. Polk, and vindicated the resolution which had been reported.

The previous question had been ordered on the several propositions pending, one of which was, requiring the Speaker to issue his warrant for the arrest of Thomas Ritchie and C. P. Sengstack, to be brought to the bar of the House for alleged contempt, in refusing to answer questions propounded to them by the committee.

Mr. Inge, to avoid a separate vote on the resolutions, moved to lay the whole subject on the table

The question was taken, and decided in the negative—yeas 82, nays 95.

[Mr. Calvin said that he had agreed with his colleague, Mr. McLanahan, who has been called home to see his sick child, not to vote on certain questions, and this is one of them, until next Tuesday.]

Mr. Butler of Pennsylvania moved that the House proceed to the consideration of the business on the Speaker's table; but the motion was decided in the negative—yeas 52, nays 75.

The report of the select committee still being under consideration, the pending question was stated.

The gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. Stanly) had offered the following resolution, viz:

Whereas the select committee of this House, acting by the authority of the House, under a resolution of the 6th of May last, has reported that Thomas Ritchie and C. P. Sengstack have peremptorily refused to give evidence in obedience to a summons duly issued by said committee: Therefore,

Resolved, That the Speaker of this House issue his warrant, directed to the Sergeant-at-Arms, to take into custody the persons of said Ritchie and Sengstack, that they may be brought to the bar of the House, to answer for an alleged contempt of this House, and that they be allowed counsel, on that occasion, should they desire it.

Which Mr. Schenk had moved to amend, by making the writ returnable on the second Monday in December next.

The question was taken, on agreeing to the amendment to the resolution, and decided in the negative—yeas 74, nays 103.

The question recurred on the amendment offered by Mr. Carter, to strike out all after the word "resolved," and to insert: "that the whole subject be recommitted to the select committee, with instructions to proceed by the ordinary process of investigation, to the discharge of their important duties."

Mr. Williams moved to lay the whole subject on the table; but the motion was disagreed to—yeas 66, nays 72.

Mr. Casey moved that the House proceed to the consideration of business on the Speaker's table.

The question being taken, it was decided in the negative.

The amendment of Mr. Carter was then rejected—yeas 46, nays 138.

The question was taken on the resolution of Mr. Stanly, (to bring Messrs. Ritchie and Sengstack before the bar of the House,) and it was decided in the negative—yeas 49, nays 122—as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Alexander, Alston, Andrews, Ashmun, Bennett, Bokee, Breck, Briggs, Burrows, Thomas B. Butler, Campbell, Chandler, Clark, Corwin, Crowell, Dickey, Gott, Gould, Halloway, Hay, Howe, William T. Jackson, James G. King, John A. King, Marshall, Meacham, Moore, Nelson, Ogle, Otis, Pitman, Putnam, Reynolds, Rockwell, Rose, Rumsey, Sackett, Schenck, Schermerhorn, Silvester, Spalding, Sprague, Stanly, Stevens, Taylor, Thurman, Underhill, Van Dyke, and White—49.

NAYS—Messrs. Alberston, Allen, Anderson, Ashe, Averett, Baker, Bay, Bayly, Beale, Bissell, Booth, Bowie, Bowlin, Boyd, Buel, Burt, Chester Butler, Cable, Geo. Alfred Caldwell, Jos. P. Caldwell, Carter, Casey, Clingman, Williamson R. W. Cobb, Conger, Daniel, Deberry, Dimmick, Doty, Duer, Duncan, Durkee, Edmundson, Featherston, Fitch, Fowler, Fuller, Gentry, Gerry, Giddings, Green, Grinnell, Hall, Hamilton, Haralson, Harlan, Isham G. Harris, Sampson W. Harris, Haymond, Hebard, Hibbard, Hilliard, Hoagland, Holladay, Holmes, Houston, Howard, Hunter, Jos. W. Jackson, Andrew Johnson, Jas. L. Johnson, Robert W. Johnson, Jones, Julian, Kerr, Geo. G. King, Preston King, La Sére, Leffler, Littlefield, Job Mann, Mason, Matteson, McClernand, McDowell, McKissock, Robert M. McLane, Fenis E. McLean, McMullen, McQueen, McWillie, Millson, Morehead, Morris, Morton, Newell, Olds, Orr, Outlaw, Parker, Peaslee, Peck, Potter, Powell, Richardson, Robbins, Root, Ross, Savage, Sawtelle, Schoolcraft, Seddon, Shepperd, Fred. P. Stanton, Richard H. Stanton, Stetson, Strong, Thomas, Jacob Thompson, James Thompson, Venable, Vinton, Walden, Waldo, Wallace, Watkins, Wellborn, Whittlesey, Wildrick, Williams, Woodward, and Young—122.

On motion of Mr. Hibbard, the whole subject was laid upon the table.

Mr. Bissell moved, but the House refused to adjourn.

Mr. Richardson moved that the House resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole House on the private calendar; and the motion was disagreed to.

After further proceedings, the House, at two o'clock, took the vote on a motion to adjourn. The result was, by tellers—ayes 88, noes 57.

The yeas and nays having been demanded by one fifth of the members present, they were taken, and resulted—yeas 88, nays 84.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1850.

Mr. McLane asked permission of the House to make a few words of explanation He said that the difficulty which occurred between Mr. Bayly of Virginia, and Mr. Sweetser of Ohio, had been satisfactorily adjusted by explanation between Mr. Disney of Ohio, as the friend of Mr. Sweetser, and himself (Mr. McLane) as the friend of Mr. Bayly; and everything offensive and unpleasant between them had been withdrawn and atoned for, and the relations between them as gentlemen had been satisfactorily established.

Mr. Green introduced a resolution (the rules being suspended for the purpose by a vote of 126 to 53) calling upon the President of the United States to report to the House the cost of each of the line of mail steamers in the service of the Government, comprehending the original advances to each, and cost, &c., for repairs since, and the expenses, under separate heads of expenditure, for conducting the service; also, what receipts have been paid into the Treasury for postage or otherwise, from said service, for each year; and whether said lines have been hypothecated in whole or in part to any foreign State, or to individuals and corporations, so as to hazard their use or availability in the event of war.

The resolution, under the operation of the previous question, was passed.

On motion of Mr. Boyd, the rules were suspended to enable him to introduce a resolution to make the Texas boundary bill the special order of the day for each day hereafter at 12 o'clock, until said bill be finally disposed of. The resolution was, under the operation of the previous question, passed.

Mr. Harris of Tennessee asked for a suspension of the rules, to enable him to introduce a resolution providing for the final adjournment of the present Congress at 12 o'clock on the fourth Monday of September.

The House refused to suspend the rules by a vote of 105 in the affirmative to 86 in the negative—not two-thirds.

Mr. Van Dyke asked for a suspension of the rules to enable him to introduce a resolution to instruct the Committee of Ways and Means to report as speedily as possible a bill to modify our present revenue laws, and so to increase the duties on foreign articles, which come into competition with our own products, as to give fair and reasonable protection to the labor and industry of this country; and that such duties be made specific whenever it is practicable to do so.

The question was taken on suspending, by yeas and nays, and decided in the negative—yeas 89, nays 98.

Mr. Brown of Mississippi moved a suspension of the rules to enable him to introduce a resolution to provide for making the bills reported from the Committee on the District of Columbia the special order for the third Friday and Saturday of September next. The House refused to suspend the rules.

Mr. King of New York moved a suspension of the rules to enable him to introduce a resolution instructing the Committee of Ways and Means to report a bill so modifying the tariff of 1846 as to make the duties on iron specific at the rates they would now be if the *ad valorem* duty of 1846 had been made a specific duty equal to the *ad valorem* duty levied by that act at the time it became a law.

The question was taken by yeas and nays, and the House refused to suspend the rules—yeas 65, nays 75.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1850.

The House was engaged in the consideration of the Texas boundary bill. Messrs. Daniel of North Carolina, McDowell of Virginia, and Holmes of South Carolina, addressed the House.

FREE DEMOCRACY OF INDIANA.

To the Editor of the National Era:

DEAR SIR: I send you a copy of our proceedings in convention to nominate a ticket to be supported at our next election.

The nominees are men chosen from the tickets of both the other parties, as we thought it inexpedient at this late day and under present circumstances to get up an entirely distinct one of our own. They are men of sound principles, strong hearts, and good heads, and are the most of them, sure of being elected. They are men who will show that the doughfacedness and milk-and-water policy of Clay and Cass, Webster and Whitcomb, will be sorely rebuked when an opportunity offers, and that their doctrines are far behind the age.

Yours, most truly,

HENRY H. DE WOLF.

Logansport, July 30, 1850.

At a meeting of the Free Democracy of Cass county, at the court-house in Logansport, on the 27th of July, Thomas Tomlinson was called to the chair, and David Pinkerton was appointed Secretary.

On motion,

Resolved, That we now proceed to nominate a ticket to be supported at the approaching election, and we do hereby pledge ourselves to vote and sustain the ticket now to be formed.

Whereupon, the Convention proceeded to ballot, and it resulted in the choice of—

Horace P. Biddle, Senatorial Delegate;
M. R. Wickersham, Representative Delegate;
D. D. Pratt, Representative;
E. B. Strong, Treasurer;
John F. Dodds, Auditor;
Benj. L. Campbell, Assessor;
Jos. W. McCaughey, Coroner;
Blair Buchanan, County Commissioner.

On motion,

Resolved, That we will support the persons now nominated, and recommend the ticket to our fellow-citizens as the best that can be formed under present circumstances.

Resolved, That we adhere to the principles of the Buffalo platform, and will continue to maintain the great truths therein set out, in prosperity or adversity, in success or defeat.

Resolved, That the friends of Freedom, California, and New Mexico, in Congress, deserve the plaudit of "well done, good and faithful servants;" while Northern doughfaces and compromisers of truth and principle should and will be speedily cast into utter darkness.

Resolved, That the circulation of the National Era be recommended to our friends, and that as far as possible a club of five be formed in each township in the county, as subscribers to the same.

Resolved, That a central committee of five be appointed, who shall take into special consideration the propriety of establishing a newspaper in this place, that will advocate correct principles, and to circulate documents, &c, and that they report at the next meeting; whereupon, Henry De Wolf, J. W. Wright, B. Z. Burch, J. Goodwin, Wm. Sharp, were appointed such committee.

Resolved, That the editors of the Era and the papers in this place be requested to publish our proceedings. THOS. TOMLINSON, *Chairman*.

D. PINKERTON, *Secretary*.

OBITUARY.

Died, of consumption, April 10th, 1850, in North Bloomfield, Trumbull county, Ohio, Deacon ASA SMITH, aged 57 years.

"Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord."

Deacon Smith spent his early life in Massachusetts, from whence he removed to Bristol, Ohio, in 1820

Deacon Smith was among the first to move onward in the great and noble reforms of the day. When intemperance was prevailing through all classes of community, he was with the first to unite and assist in forming Temperance Societies, and then to advance on the plan of entire abstinence. And when but little feeling was manifested on the subject of slavery, he was ready to embark with the foremost ranks as a friend of the slave. The anti-slavery cause with him was not an "abstract idea," but was interwoven with his religion; so that, on his death-bed he could say, that for the last twenty years he had been engaged in no business but that he could ask the blessing of God to attend his labors.

For a little more than one year previous to his sickness, he had been laboring in the cause of Christ as a colporteur, and during the year, although sick twenty-three days, he visited upward of fourteen hundred families, holding religious conversation and prayer in every family that would permit it, and scattering religious publications from house to house. The last township which he traversed was Bristol. His heart being in the work, and he deeply anxious to do all the good he could, he labored beyond his strength, having sometimes held meetings every evening in the week. His strength failed, and on the 29th day of January he went home, and went out of his house no more.

Many friends came in during the last day that he lived—he had a word for all; told them he was dying, and earnestly entreated them to be prepared to meet him in heaven. On being asked if the Saviour was with him, he said, "Yes, I know Him whom I have believed, and He will keep what I have committed unto Him against that day." A few minutes before he breathed his last, he said, "No other name but the name of Jesus. He will carry me safely through."

J. S.

Died, at his residence in Birmingham, Erie county, Ohio, on Saturday evening, June 29th, PEREZ STARR, Esq., aged 64 years and 10 days.

Mr. Starr was a native of New London, Connecticut, where many of his connections still reside

In 1810, he, together with an elder brother, emigrated to this country, which was at that time a vast wilderness, and inhabited only by the savage beast and men more savage still, with the exception of a few log cabins at the mouths of the streams along the Lake. Although naturally of a strong constitution yet the hardships and exposures experienced in laboring at his trade, (that of mill-wright,) together with the dangers and privations endured during the last war, so far undermined his constitution, that for many years he has been afflicted with a pulmonary disease, from which he never recovered.

In his death the community have lost a tried and valued citizen, his wife and children a kind and affectionate husband and tender father, the poor a friend and ready helper, the Church of Christ a consistent and worthy member, and the poor and downtrodden slave one of their strongest friends. Indeed, for the few last years of his life, it appeared to be his chief object to enlighten people's minds upon the great subject of human freedom. Possessed of a strong and vigorous mind and well cultivated intellect, he took great delight in exercising them in the cause of truth and humanity, and hailed with delight every successful effort made by the friends of Liberty to sever the cords of bondage, to break the fetters of slavery, and destroy the power of tyranny, and to set the downtrodden and oppressed free.

As he lived, so he died, the death of a Christian; and although it was a trying scene, and hard for friends to leave, yet they feel to say, All is well; what is our loss is his unspeakable gain. Though dead he still speaketh; and his precepts and example will long be remembered by his friends and acquaintances, who are very numerous and extensive.

The blessed hope which sustained him through life was his comfort and support through the valley and shadow of death; and notwithstanding he suffered the most severe pain for several days, yet he endured all with Christian meekness and resignation, and longed for his time to come to depart and to be with Christ—and when the messenger come he resigned without a struggle or a groan, and sweetly fell asleep in Jesus, no more to awake until the trump of God shall awake the slumbering nations of the earth, and call them forth to judgment.

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Aug. 29—tf

ECLECTIC MEDICAL INSTITUTE OF CINCINNATI.

Chartered in 1845—*Session of* 1849–'50—*Matriculants*, 224—*Graduates*, 65.

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JOSEPH R. BUCHANAN, M. D., Medical Chemistry and Cerebral Physiology.
LORENZO E. JONES, M. D., Materia Medica and Pharmacy.
BENJAMIN L. HILL, M. D., Surgery and Obstetrics.
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Aug. 29—6t

JOHN W. NORTH,

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Oct. 11.—y

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Aug. 22—4t

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[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.]

glaring one, into which zeal without knowledge is always wont to betray its votaries—it has been asserted in this debate, that it is the duty of this Government to protect property in slaves wherever its flag floats, and it has paramount jurisdiction. Many errors of opinion, upon law as well as morals, not unfrequently spring from the imperfection of language and the improper use of words without a fixed and determinate meaning. In fact, it has long been cause of complaint among ingenious and thoughtful men, that our language, rude and imperfect at best, and mostly conversant about material and sensible objects, was wholly inadequate to express the refined distinctions of moral and speculative philosophy, as the rudest tools are unfit and unsuitable to the refined and delicate purposes and operations of the watch-maker and the surgeon. And this, I apprehend, is the reason why so many errors have been committed by distinguished gentlemen in the course of this discussion. They unquestionably result, not from inadequate or confused ideas in their own minds, but from the imperfection of the medium through which they are obliged, for the want of a better, to communicate their thoughts to us. Now, to ordinary capacities, to common minds, unclouded by abstractions, and capable of using common language in its usual and ordinary acceptation, there can be no doubt that the jurisdiction or authority of the General Government is *paramount* within the States. That is, that its jurisdiction is *superior* to that of any other. The language of the Constitution on this point is plain, and will admit of no controversy. It declares that "this Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." Concede the startling proposition maintained by these gentlemen; and the banner of African slavery could be made to float over the soil of every free State in this Union, entirely overriding the local or State laws prohibiting it, and the General Government successfully invoked to defend and maintain it. Such is the inevitable conclusion to which we are conducted by this absurd and preposterous doctrine. The municipal regulations of the slave States, like those of the free States, are powerless beyond their own jurisdiction. They are without any authority or consideration whatever in the other States, or in the Territories belonging to the United States, except what is imposed by the Constitution, or is exacted by the comity which modern Christian civilization requires should always exist between conterminous and independent States. The peculiarities in the legislation or laws of one State, or any given number of States, can no more be transplanted into the Territories of the United States as a right attendant upon the persons of those who may choose to emigrate thither, than those of all the other States.

The rights of all the States, in this particular, are perfectly equal, and they are independent within their own jurisdiction; and no one State has, in this respect, any superiority, whatever its laws or local institutions may be, over another. Congress has the paramount and exclusive right, if it exists anywhere, of which no sane man, at this time of day, can justly entertain a doubt, to legislate for the Territories, and no State can interfere with or control its exercise. I shall not stop to discuss the question, sometimes mooted, whence the right springs which has been so frequently exercised for the last half century.

It is sufficient for my purpose to know that the General Government has acquired territory in a variety of ways—by treaty, by acts of legislation, and by conquest and purchase; and whether the right to govern it, after the acquisition is made, is to be referred to the war-making power, or the treaty-making power, or arises from some other grant of power in the Constitution, is perfectly immaterial; it exists as an incident to the exercise of the power to acquire territory, if in no other way. It is expressly provided in the Constitution, that Congress may make "all needful rules and regulations for the government of the Territories," and of course, no other sovereignty has any control over them while they remain subject to the jurisdiction of Congress. Some of the States composing this Union prohibit slavery, while others tolerate it, and the rights of the respective States, and the citizens of each, are equal. No one may claim a superiority over the other; they all possess alike the attributes of a qualified sovereignty. A citizen of a Northern State, in which slavery and involuntary servitude are forever interdicted, emigrating to the Territories of the United States, has the same right with the citizen of a Southern State, which tolerates the institution of slavery, to carry with him the local laws of his own State. These laws being contradictory and inconsistent with each other, could not exist together in the same community, and hence the absurdity of the right claimed by some Southern gentlemen to carry slaves into the Territories and hold them in bondage, merely because they are permitted to do so by the laws of some of the States. When emigrants pass from the jurisdiction of their respective States into the Territories, they leave behind them the laws of their former domicil, as they do the judicial tribunals, and the executive officers whose duty it is to enforce them. They pass under a new jurisdiction, possessing the right to make laws, and the power to enforce them, independently of the States whence they came. The citizens of the different States and of other countries meet in the Territories upon terms of perfect equality, neither having the right to bring with him the institutions of the State or sovereignty whence he emigrated, or to claim, as a right, their protection or adoption within the new jurisdiction. A contrary doctrine would lead, in practice, to endless conflicts and interminable difficulties. Standing upon free soil, the common property of the United States, and confiding in its protection, the rights of all would be equally respected. The protecting ægis of the Constitution would be over all alike, for it has expressly provided "that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges of the citizens of the several States"—a provision which must be entirely abrogated before the new doctrine can obtain. Its transparent fallacy is so obvious and so plain, that an apology is due for the time spent in exposing it. The argument in support of it, even in the hands of its eminent advocates, fails to become respectable, and scarcely rises to the dignity of shallow sophistry.

The relation of master and slave is said to be one of long standing—it is a patriarchal institution; and we have listened to elaborate declamation upon the origin and antiquity of slavery, and its advocates have sought to deduce an argument from that source, to justify extending over it the protecting care of the General Government, and introducing it into the Territories of the United States. It has existed, we are assured, from the earliest times; its venerable and shadowy form may be seen in the twilight of history; and surely some respect is due to its great age, if on no other account. It has always been abused and vilified by its enemies, till its name has acquired an offensive odor, and is about to be driven in disgrace from its former haunts and its ancient home. What more worthy the fame of a great, a gallant, and a *free* people, than to extend the rights of hospitality to the venerable outcast, and give it a resting-place and a permanent home under our glorious stripes and stars, where it can renew its failing strength, enlarge its withered dimensions, and again put on the vigor of its youth and its manhood! Its enemies should be prosecuted for their numerous libels, and be hushed to silence, and its name be rescued from the unjust odium which has rendered it hateful and ignominious.

This, sir, is substantially the duty which we are required to perform; and if we hesitate, or falter, or fail to obey, this glorious fabric of free government, reared by the skill and the toil, and cemented by the blood of patriots, who preferred death to slavery, is to be demolished, and this Union to be dissolved. We are left free, of course, to make our election; but it is a kind of freedom, after all, not very unlike that which the traveller enjoys, with the highwayman's pistol at his breast. If there is anything in the origin and antiquity of slavery, or in the history of human bondage in any of its forms, to commend it to favorable regard, I have not been so fortunate as to discover it. The record has wholly failed to exhibit it, and it is too late now to supply the omission.

It has been repeatedly stated, in this debate, that you could not point to any act of the law-making power, creating the relation of master and slave, and establishing the institution of slavery. This is true—you cannot. But the conclusion does not follow that there is a common law of slavery as well as of freedom. Slavery is not the offspring of legislative enactments, nor the creature of the law-making power; but it is one of the bitter fruits of war, violence, and piracy, that have marked the character and deformed the history of wicked and corrupt men in all ages of the world. Wars of various kinds have been common between different nations: formerly they were much more sanguinary and ferocious, and attended with much greater atrocities than at present. And when carried on by a few against all the rest of mankind, they became piracy. The victor used to claim the right—such were the rules of ancient warfare—to dispose of his prisoners taken in battle, in such manner as he might think proper; and sometimes he would exercise a disguised humanity, if he could make profit by it, and instead of taking their lives at once, as he had the power to do, he would consign them to perpetual bondage. I do not agree with Justinian, that this imparts to slavery a rightful origin, or purifies it from the character which it inherits from such a parentage. By no means. It was at

fact that such is the origin of the institution. The legislator thus finding the relation of master and slave, springing from such a source, in existence, steps in, and not being able to restore him to his natural rights, of which he had been robbed by the superior power of his master, endeavors to regulate and restrain his conduct, and mitigate, so far as may be, the evils of the enslaved, by prescribing rules for the government of the new relation. Hence it will be seen that the legislative power does not *create*, it only *regulates* the relation between master and slave. For without municipal regulations by which the State lends the weight and force of its strong arm to the master, to aid him in holding his slave in subjection and bondage, his power over the slave would exist no longer than his own superior physical strength would enable him to maintain it. The relation between them would be that of perpetual war, and the only principle that would govern it would, of course, be that by which *might* makes right. And this, in fact, is the natural, primitive, and legitimate relation between master and slave; and it would always of necessity continue, but for the base prostitution of the supreme power of the State, to assist the stronger in crushing the weaker party. And I may here observe, you can find no law establishing any other system of despotism, of outrage and violence, whereby man has suffered wrong from his fellow-man, with which the pages of history abound. These things do not depend upon legislation; they happen in spite of it, and wholly independent of its authority. From the day that Cain went out and slew his brother Abel, up to the last act in the great drama of human butchery, the Mexican war, the search would be vain and fruitless. But this fact does not change the character of the wrongs perpetrated, nor mitigate the evils flowing from them It tends rather to aggravate than to diminish them.

Repeal the laws regulating the relation of master and slave in the slaveholding States, and there is an end of slavery, unless by superior force you can hold them in servitude. Your title to them as property, your right to their services and to buy and sell them, all depend on the local or State laws, that have no force or efficacy beyond the limits of the respective States. Natural law tolerates no such rights, and recognises no such distinctions; wherever they exist, they arise from municipal regulations. At common law there is no such thing as a slave, and as early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth it was said the air of England was too pure for a slave to breathe in. It is true the Court of Common Pleas, in the 5th of William and Mary, decided that a man might have property in a negro boy, *because negroes are heathens*—a kind of reasoning that failed to be satisfactory; for the same court, in 9th of William and the 5th of Anne, overruled the decision, and declared that no man can have property in another while in England.

And I might here refer to the celebrated case of James Somersett, decided at a later period, in 1772, by Lord Mansfield, in which the absurd dictum of the Common Pleas, in the 5th of William and Mary, is treated with merited contempt, and the true principle vindicated, which has since been invariably followed by the Courts of Westminster Hall. And in 1824, the Court of King's Bench denounced the law of slavery as an anti-christian law, and one which violates the rights of nature, and therefore ought not to be recognised here, and declares "slavery is a local law and therefore if a man wishes to preserve his slaves, let him attach them to him by affection, or make fast the bars of their prison, or rivet well their chains, for the instant they get beyond the limits where slavery is recognised by the local law, they have broken their chains, they have escaped from their prison, and are free."

The Supreme Court of the United States, in 1842, resolved that, "by the general law of nations, no nation is bound to recognise the state of slavery as to foreign slaves found within its territorial dominions, when it is in opposition to its own policy and institutions, in favor of the subjects of other nations where slavery is recognised. If it does, it is as a matter of comity, and not as a matter of International right. The state of slavery is deemed to be a mere municipal regulation, founded upon and limited to the range of the territorial laws." I have deemed it proper to fortify the positions which I have sought to maintain, by the highest judicial authority, and I have great confidence that it will be satisfactory to all candid minds.

The indirect recognition of slavery, as a State institution, in the Constitution of the United States, has turned out to be a great and, I fear, a fatal error. It was only secured, after an earnest opposition, with the understanding that it would soon cease to exist, and its great and acknowledged evils would be of short duration. The foreign slave trade was to cease in a few years, and the supply from abroad be cut off, and all the Territories were carefully protected from its inroads. But, since that time, it has increased to such an extent, that nine slave States have been added to the Union, and five of them formed out of territory obtained from foreign nations. The institution has always been a fruitful source of agitation and unkind feeling in this country. And so long as the passions and prejudices of men, to which it ministers, continue unchanged, it will forever remain so. The just expectations of the framers of the Constitution have been defeated by the predominance of Southern counsels in the administration of the Government. More than three hundred and fifty thousand square miles of slave territory have been acquired and peopled with slaves since the Constitution was adopted, and still larger domains are required to satisfy the demands of the South. Slavery existed in the Colonies before the Revolution. It was first introduced into Virginia at an early day, and finally extended into the other Colonies. At every stage of its progress, it met with a firm and vigorous opposition. But the power of the British Government, influenced by considerations of mercantile and individual interests, triumphed over the wishes of the Colonists. "This infernal traffic," said Colonel Mason of Virginia, in the Convention that formed the Constitution, "originated in the avarice of British merchants. The British Government constantly checked the attempts of Virginia to put a stop to it. The present question concerns not the importing States alone, but the whole Union. The evil of having slaves was experienced during the late war. Had slaves been treated as they might have been by the enemy, they would have proved dangerous instruments in their hands." Slavery was no favorite with the revolutionary patriots. In public meetings, in legislative bodies—everywhere and on all occasions—its existence was deprecated as an unmitigated evil.

Every page of our history before the Revolution, fragrant as it is with the love of liberty and devotion to human rights, is filled with convincing proofs of the abhorrence with which it was viewed by the colonists. From the close of that struggle to the adoption of the Constitution, a constant warfare was carried on against it, and the leading minds of the South and North harmonized in opposition to the institution. And so true is this, that Southern denunciations against slavery have supplied the vocabulary of modern anti-slavery men with their choicest epithets, and they have needed and scarcely sought any more effective and terrific bolts to hurl against the institution than those forged by Southern men.

Mr. Madison, in the constitutional Convention of 1787, said he thought it wrong to admit in the Constitution the *idea that there could be property in man*. And in the same year, on the occasion of the memorable trial of Warren Hastings, before the Peers of Great Britain, Mr. Sheridan, the eminent statesman and orator, declared that allegiance to that Power which gives us the *forms* of men commands us to maintain the *rights* of men. And never yet was this truth dismissed from the human heart; never, in any time, in any age—never in any clime where rude man ever had any social feelings—never was this inextinguishable truth destroyed from the heart of man, placed as it is in the core and centre of it by his Maker, *that man was not made the property of man.*

The language of Lord Brougham, one of the most distinguished statesmen of the age, is still more emphatic on the subject of slavery: "Tell me not of rights," (said he;) "talk not of the property of the planter in his slaves. I deny the right. I acknowledge not the property. The principles, the feelings of our *common nature*, rise in rebellion against it. Be the appeal made to the *understanding* or to the heart, the sentence is the same that rejects it. There is a law above all human enactments, written by the finger of God on the heart of man—and by that law, eternal and unchangeable, while men despise fraud and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they shall reject with indignation *the wild and guilty phantasy, that man can hold property in man.*"

Sir, the anti-slavery feeling of the country was deep and strong, and was manifested on all proper occasions—in the revolutionary Congress of 1774—in the Congress of the Confederation of 1786, that adopted the glorious Ordinance of freedom for the Northwestern Territory; and its bright and luminous track may be discerned in every page of the early history and in the legislative records of the country. But in process of time a change came over the South on the subject of slavery. That section had secured important political advantages under the Constitution; it was allowed the benefit of the rotten-borough system—a representation in the National Legislature without a constituency. Not contented with present advantages, her statesmen sought for still greater; and not willing to act a subordinate part to which the minority is necessarily obliged to submit, at least according to the theory of republican institutions, they aspired to control the Ad-

This change happened soon after the Government was organized under the Constitution. Their purpose has been pursued steadily and without deviation or faltering, with the view to attain their cherished object. One slave State after another has been formed and admitted into the Union; and at this moment the slave States equal in number the free States, and with a population less than one-third, they have an equal representation in the Senate of the United States; and this is not all. Their thirst for political power, which seems to be their besetting sin, and the great object of their ambition and pursuit, has been gratified to the fullest extent. They have had the President for fifty years out of the sixty, since the Government was organized, and of the nineteen Secretaries of State, fourteen have been slaveholders; and the other Cabinet officers in about the same proportion. A majority of the Judges of the Supreme Court has always been slaveholders; and out of twenty Speakers of this House, the South has had twelve, and the North only eight. The foreign missions have also been filled by a majority of Southern men, and to-day there is a much larger number of official functionaries in the different bureaus of the Departments from the slaveholding, than from the free States. Sir, I do not mention these facts by way of complaint, but to repel accusations, and to show how generous the majority has been to the minority—how kindly the North has treated the South. It is a matter of boast, by a distinguished member of this House, [Mr. MEADE,] that though in a minority for the last half century, the South has *managed* during the greater portion of that period to control the destinies of this nation. But like spoiled children, ruined by kindness and indulgence, they still grumble and complain. They find fault, not so much with what has been done, as with what has been said, and what they seem to fear may be done hereafter; and opinions are more offensive to them than actions. And they declare war against the former, in advance of the effects which they fancy may hereafter flow from them. Some gentlemen have ventured to talk in this debate of Northern aggressions upon Southern rights, as if it was a reality instead of a mere phantom of the imagination. And among the most prominent offences complained of, we find the differences of opinion between the North and South on the question of slavery. This is, politically, the unpardonable sin, and the safety of the institution demands its rigorous punishment.

But, sir, it is a perversion of language to charge Northern men with committing aggressions upon the South because they happen to differ from them upon the propriety of continuing and extending human slavery. It is not even a just ground of complaint. The free and manly expression of opinion is no cause of offence to those who may disagree with you, and it is no act of hostility in any proper sense of the word. If it be otherwise, then has the language of Magna Charta, of the Bill of Rights, of the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States, become justly offensive; and instead of deserving the historical renown which the judgment of mankind has awarded to them, they are nothing more than a declaration of war against all the world who do not subscribe to the theory of human rights which they announce; and the authors of them, whose names have become famous among the nations of the earth, are no better than pirates and outlaws. To such extremities, Mr. Chairman, are the advocates of slavery driven in their unavailing exertions to shield the institution from the inevitable doom that awaits it. In no correct sense of the word has the North ever committed any aggressions upon the South. The citizens of the free States love not only theoretical, but practical liberty, and wherever slavery exists they desire its extinction. But I maintain, Mr. Chairman that it is the South that has committed aggressions, and not the North; and in committing aggressions it is obvious to remark, slavery only follows its instincts and obeys the laws of its nature. And for this opinion we have authority, if any were needed beyond the reflections and observation of every one, that Southern men will not repudiate or attempt to deny. That slavery also debauches the minds and deteriorates the morals of men, will appear evident from the same authority. Colonel Mason, of Virginia, in the Constitutional Convention, when the subject of slavery was under discussion, said: "Slavery discourages arts and manufactures. The poor despise labor when performed by slaves. They prevent the emigration of whites, who really enrich and strengthen a country. They produce the most pernicious effects on manners. Every master of slaves is born a petty tyrant. They bring the judgment of Heaven on a country. As nations cannot be rewarded or punished in the next world, they must be in this. By an inevitable chain of causes and effects, Providence punishes national sins by national calamities; and Jefferson, the great apostle of Democracy, whose teachings it must be admitted, like some of those who profess to be his followers, were sadly at fault with his practice, has described the relation as a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions—the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other."

It is not surprising that the minds of men living under the influence of such an institution should become perverted without being conscious of it, and their moral sense blunted and rendered incapable of performing its appropriate functions. Why, sir, you claim the right to enslave the African race because Africans are heathens; that, I believe, is the argument advanced in the Mississippi address, if that elaborate but stilted and inflated production is susceptible of any definite meaning; but, as legislators, I understand you to repudiate the obligations and refuse to perform the duties which Christian ethics impose on you in prescribing rules of conduct for your fellow men. You claim the rights but refuse to perform the duties of Christians. With the moral bearings of a question, it has been said, you have nothing to do in your legislative capacity; and this no doubt furnishes the explanation why we find such signal departures from the wholesome principles of the natural and the revealed law in the legislation of the slave States. This doctrine seeks to obliterate at once the distinction between right and wrong in human actions—a distinction which is not dependent upon legislative enactments, but exists anterior to them.

Sir, we have heard much said in our time, in the political discussions of the day, about a moneyed aristocracy and bank influence in national affairs. Southern gentlemen were not backward in sounding the alarm. I heard the notes, listened to the discussion with attention, and I hope not without profit, and the recollection of it has not faded from my memory. I am suspicious of associated wealth, especially when enlisted, as it too often is, in opposition to popular rights. And I hold it to be the dictate of prudence to watch, with a sleepless vigilance and a jealous eye, the operations of men wielding large amounts of capital when in pursuit of political objects. They are not always over scrupulous in regard to the means which they employ to accomplish the desired end. For this reason I am jealous of the institution of slavery, and of the schemes and movements of its friends and advocates. It is now in the field, and its influence pervades, and I must be allowed to say, controls, to a great extent, both branches of Congress. And I should be gratified to know that the Executive Department was wholly emancipated from its influence. If it is not now, I hope the day is not distant when it will be.

Mr. Chairman, the old Bank of the United States, with all its branches, and officers, and dependents, together with the immense wealth of the Rothschilds, would be an adversary quite insignificant and harmless, compared with the one which the friends of Free Soil now have to encounter. Some two hundred and fifty or three hundred thousand slaveholders have taken the field, controlling and wielding a capital which, it is said, amounts to eighteen hundred millions of dollars in *personal* property, and probably much more in real estate, animated by a common spirit and pursuing a common object, and that object, political power and influence.

Here, sir, is a moneyed aristocracy, possessing a fearful, a dangerous influence, if exerted even in the holy cause of human freedom; but when turned to other purposes, and exerted as it now is, in making war upon human rights, and to extend and perpetuate the slavery of the African race in this country, it becomes an instrument whose power to do mischief it is impossible to over-estimate; and no one can contemplate it without serious alarm and apprehension. I think, sir, it is time to arrest it while we have the power. The world has never before witnessed so formidable an element of discord and disunion in the bosom of any free Government. And the question, whether it shall be permitted to strengthen, extend, and fortify itself in the midst of us, becomes an intensely interesting one to those who have the power of deciding it. I cannot permit myself to doubt the result; and I cherish the hope, that when the hour of trial comes, the Representatives from the free States, following in this particular the example of those from the slave States, will be found united and acting together like a band of brothers. The enemies of slavery extension may surely forget party names and party distinctions when its friends have set the example.

Mr. Chairman, if Southern gentlemen had been contented with meeting us in open and manly debate on the question of slavery extension into the free Territories of the United States, there would be no just cause of complaint. If they had refrained from the use of any other but the ordinary means to accomplish their objects, no one could find fault with them, however much he might regret their errors of opinion. But they have not. They have chosen to pursue a different course, and in doing so, have exposed not only the weak-

ciations and menaces have been artfully employed, for no other purpose, it seems to me, than to influence not only the members of this House from the free States, but the action of Congress upon questions pending before it. Some of the Southern States, perhaps a majority of them, have passed resolutions declaring if Congress abolishes slavery in this District, and prohibits it in the Territories, and presumes to do certain things which may not please them, they will resist its action "at any and every hazard." This is a brief method of declaring that they will commit treason and rebellion against the Government, if the majority dares to disregard their wishes, or fails to comply with their demands Whether modesty or chivalry most predominates in such conduct, I must leave for others to determine. The extraordinary language of the member from North Carolina, [Mr. CLINGMAN,] in a speech upon this floor, is fresh in the recollection of every one, and though pains may have been taken to conceal or disguise his meaning, the allusion to a struggle that would not leave a quorum to do business in this Hall was well understood by those who heard him. And if any one entertain a doubt, it was soon removed by what was passing elsewhere. Not long after this and other violent speeches were made, a letter-writer from this city, who was understood to be in the confidence, if he did not speak the sentiments, of Southern men, under date of February 26, 1850, holds the following language: (See the New York *Herald* of February 28, 1850:)

"We are on the very eve of bloodshed in the Capitol. There is no telling when its crimson streaks may deluge the halls of Congress. Without a moment's warning, civil strife and massacre may commence, for it will begin here. The first blood will not be spilt at Nashville, it will be in Washington. There is a fearful and an alarming state of things here, and when or where it will end, God alone knows. It is impossible for those at a distance to realize that their delegates in Congress are preparing for such scenes as have never been witnessed in our heretofore peaceable civil contests. The Southern members are excited to the highest pitch. Men go armed, and are preparing for the contest and personal strife that will ensue before a week has passed. We are in the crisis so long and so justly dreaded, and Monday next will be the day when the rupture will commence. The scene on last Monday week, day and night, will be repeated, but in a more frightful and tragic form. You will remember that resolution day comes on Monday of every second week. Next Monday is a day all must dread, and wait with deep anxiety the horrible issue which will take place.

"The state of bad feeling which has existed from the commencement of this Congress, between Northern and Southern members, is hourly increasing, and becoming more intense and alarming. There is danger of an immediate rupture, and once commenced by bloodshed here, where will it end? It is revolution that we are starting upon—revolution in its most tremendous and dangerous form. It is a revolution of the Southern minority against the overbearing tyranny of a majority—the worst form of tyranny which can exist. Collision between the members from the Northern and Southern sections is inevitable. It is hoping against hope, to hope that it may not take place at once—immediately. The Northern members are playing on a volcano, which may open and pour out fire and flame before they dream of it. Personal conflicts will take place, they must do so, as sure as is the fact that hard words lead to blows, and the Southern men do not arm with deadly weapons without feeling that they are in danger and determined to use them."

I might make further extracts from the same writer of similar import, and evidencing the same atrocious and blood-thirsty disposition; but this may serve as a fair specimen of the tone and temper displayed, and the arts of persuasion practiced by him and his friends. The lank and famished wolf howling for his prey, and the tiger panting for blood, could not exhibit more savage ferocity; and the Northern man that does not take the hint, and conform his conduct to the wishes of these gentlemen, after such significant intimations of the consequences of disregarding them, must surely be presumptuous indeed, and wholly fail to consult his own welfare. But really, Mr. Chairman, I have not been able to discover that the announcement thus formally made, for purposes, no doubt, of intimidation, (for it could be made for no other,) that Southern men are armed with deadly weapons, has produced other emotions than those of ineffable scorn and contempt. It is quite possible, sir, that there are Northern men who could be intimidated in this way, and dragooned into compliance with the demands of those who are capable of making these threats; but they do not probably happen at this time to be members of this House; at any rate, I hope not from Ohio.

In this connection, allow me to notice another fact, and I view it as more dangerous, and therefore of more importance, than any already mentioned—I refer to the Nashville Convention, which assembles this day. Its object is exclusively sectional, and it aims to obliterate party distinctions, and to unite and strengthen the slave States in their efforts to extend slavery into the free territory acquired from Mexico. And as a remedy for the insupportable evils that will result from the failure of this scheme, they will, no doubt, recommend the preliminary steps for a dissolution of the Union. At any rate, this has been plainly intimated by its friends. But while I execrate their object, and shall do all I can to defeat it, I am not willing to do them or their motives injustice. Let one of the distinguished advocates of this Convention explain its object—(I quote from the speech of Colonel Trotti of Barnwell, South Carolina, delivered at a meeting convened to appoint delegates to the Nashville Convention:)

"What that Convention will do is not for us to dictate. Our delegates should go untrammeled, and free to consult with the leading intellects that will be brought together from all parts of the South. But, as individuals, we may entertain and express an opinion as to what it should do. That Convention should say to the non-slaveholding States, the South will maintain her rights and 'equality' in the Union, or *she will dissolve it.*

"What else is left for us to do? Can we rely on the Constitution? Why, the Constitution has long been utterly disregarded. You have over and over again seen it kicked out of both halls of Congress. The great and good men who achieved our independence have passed away, and the carrion crows that now swarm the halls of Congress have *mesmerized* the Constitution, and made it speak in any language they wished. The Constitution is *rather an impediment* than a protection to the South. The South regards the obligations it imposes, whilst the North treats them with utter contempt. But for the fact that we have been comforted with the belief that we lived under a Constitution that protected our rights, it is not improbable that a *Southern army would long ago have gone to Washington and dispersed Congress.* Much as we boast of our freedom, I doubt if any legislative body, exercising the same unlimited powers as the Congress of the United States, would be tolerated in any part of Europe."

Now, sir, this is very plain language, and the orator seems to be animated by the same *mild* and *conciliatory* spirit that pervades his sectional friends in this Hall, and their mouth-piece, the correspondent of the *New York Herald*. I must be permitted, however, to observe, that the "*Southern army*" spoken of, which it is said might, but for a certain contingency, be commissioned to visit this Capitol and disperse Congress, would be quite inoffensive and very apt to fail of its mission, if it should be as easily driven from this city as a similar one was in the year 1814, that abandoned the Capitol to be sacked and burned by a foreign enemy. But the chivalrous orator does not stop here, but goes on and discloses the real and ulterior designs contemplated by those who favor the Nashville Convention. He proceeds in this manner:

"In what I have said I have had in contemplation the probability of the dissolution of the Union, and the foundation of a separate Southern Republic. I have not the slightest idea that the people of the non-slaveholding States will respect our rights, until *they are made to feel our strength*—our capacity for not only sustaining ourselves, *but injuring them.* And when they find themselves stripped of their commerce, their manufactures crippled, and their houses and lands sinking in value, then you may find greater efforts to put down abolition at the North than are now made to put down slavery at the South. If disunion comes, it would find the South better prepared to defend her institutions against the world, and, if she was still to continue in the Union, she would have acquired that power and influence which would cause her rights to be respected."

I have no fears, I am ready to admit, Mr. Chairman, of a dissolution of this Union; the fraternal ties that bind us together and make us one people cannot be sundered by the schemes of restless, ambitious, and unprincipled politicians. The great mass of the people in the South and in the North is in favor of the Union as it is; they have too long enjoyed and too highly appreciate its blessings, to run the fearful hazard of dissolution for the sake of accommodating distressed patriots in any section of the country. Powerful as the Nashville Convention may be for mischief, it cannot dissolve the Union. But there is one thing which I think it will not fail to accomplish, and that is, to secure a refuge, a resting-place, or, if you please, a cemetery for *agitated* and *distracted* politicians—that class of men who have been mainly instrumental in fomenting sectional divisions and disturbing the peace and harmony of the country. To such men we are indebted

tutional right, and all the accumulated evils that have followed in its train; and to such also are we indebted for the discord that has reigned in this Hall, and the systematic neglect and abandonment of the public business, that has marked and signalized the present session of Congress. It only remains for us to perform the sad and mournful duty of inscribing appropriate epitaphs on their tombstones.

Threats of nullification, it will be remembered, and open resistance to the laws of Congress, proceeding from South Carolina, secured the passage of the compromise act of March, 1833, by which the interests of free labor were offered up a sacrifice to those of slave labor. And now, sir, emboldened by former success to become more rapacious in her demands, the South threatens separation and dissolution, if the freedom of the Territories and the restriction of slavery are insisted upon. She wants a more extended market for her rapidly-increasing slave population; and would be much pleased with a few more hundred thousand square miles of the newly-acquired territory. The diffusion of slavery, in the opinion of General Cass, (and I suppose his political friends generally agree with him,) does not injure, but rather improves it. That is the argument in its favor.

The North then yielded to the demands of slavery, gave up her protective tariff, and consented, for the sake of composing the clamors of her adversaries, to sacrifice her pecuniary interests. And it remains to be seen whether she will now with the same facility, and for a similar purpose, surrender up her principles, and run the dreadful risk of all the future mischiefs of slavery-extension, by tamely submitting to its present requirements. For one, sir, I will not do it. I am unwilling to extend the basis of slave representation; it was originally unjust, and has always marred the symmetry of our political system. It was always at war with every just principle of free government. We are not obliged to do it. And it was no part of our agreement with the slave States that we should do it, when the compact of Union was formed. There is no such covenant in the bond. It is surely enough for us, sir, in this particular, to perform our constitutional obligations. I am not willing to do more. An eminent Senator from Massachusetts has spoken well and truthfully on this subject. I could wish, sir, that he had never spoken otherwise.

In 1848, in his speech on the loan bill, Mr. Webster warned Congress and the people that the Senate was slipping away from the great body of the States, into the hands of men who would make it an oligarchy. Said he.

"If a State proposes to come into the Union, and come in a slave State, then there is an augmentation of the inequality in the representation of the people, which already exists—an inequality *already existing*, with which I do not quarrel, and which I will never attempt to alter, but shall preserve as long as I have a vote to give, or any voice in this Government; because it is a part of the original compact. Let it stand. But then there is another consideration of vastly more general importance even than that; more general because it affects all the States, free and slaveholding; and it is that, if States formed out of territories thus thinly populated, come into the Union, they necessarily, inevitably break up the relation existing between the two branches of the Government, and destroy its balance. They break up the intended relation between the Senate and House of Representatives. If you bring in new States, any new State that comes in must have two Senators. She may come in with fifty or sixty thousand people. You may have from a particular State more Senators than you have Representatives. Can anything occur to disfigure and derange the form of Government under which we live, more signally than that? Here would be a Senate bearing no proportion to the people, out of all relation to them, by the addition of new States; from some of them only one Representative, perhaps, and two Senators; whereas the larger States may have ten, fifteen, or even thirty Representatives, and but two Senators. The Senate added to, augmented by these new Senators coming from States where there are few people, becomes an odious oligarchy. It holds power without any adequate constituency. Sir, it is but 'borough-mongering' upon a large scale."

Southern men have no just right to complain of our opposition to the extension of slavery. The institution has always been at war with the rights of free labor, and the industrial and financial interests of the non-slaveholding States have more than once been stricken down by its remorseless jealousy, and changing and fitful policy. I cannot make up the record of its offences in my brief limits. Those who wish to become familiar with them, may commence with the embargo of 1807, by which the commerce of the free States was driven from the ocean, and end with the annexation of Texas, the Mexican war, and the Nashville Convention. Revenue laws have been adopted and repealed with a wanton disregard of the commercial and manufacturing interests of the free States, that admits of no palliation or excuse whatever.

And the financial and monetary concerns of the country have been subjected, under the influence of Southern counsels, to the series of oppressive and embarrassing operations and experiments, that seemed to be artfully contrived and executed to work the greatest amount of injury to the industry of the free States. And under the disguise of being strict-constructionists, Southern statesmen, in the administration of the Government, have usurped and exercised powers not granted in the Constitution, and acquired immense tracts of country, and in the case of Texas an independent nation, for the purpose of enlarging the area of slavery, and increasing the profits of the infamous traffic in slaves. When these were the objects to be accomplished, no theories of strict construction, no constitutional difficulties, ever formed the slightest impediment in the way of their attainment. If some of these measures have been brought forward and consummated by the high-priests of a self-styled Democracy, it must be remembered that they were also the ministers of slavery; and if they offered incense upon the altars consecrated to liberty, it was only as a device to enable them more successfully to seduce and betray its worshippers.

And, sir, when the genius of history shall come to make up the impartial record of the past, and to pencil the result upon her enduring tablets, I wish she could truthfully say, that one of the principal objects of the war of 1812 with Great Britain was not to strengthen the slave power, rather than to redress national wrongs, and secure its permanent ascendency in the administration of the Government.

The angry disputes and sectional jealousies that now disturb the peace and harmony of the country, and interrupt the friendly relations that ought always to exist among us, all spring from the same source and have the same common origin. They are the legacy which the authors of the Mexican war bequeathed to us in their efforts to subdue new regions to the dominion of slavery. A large majority of the American people are opposed to the further extension of the institution, and have made up their minds to confine it within its present boundaries. The motto inscribed upon the glorious banner of this majority, under whose ample folds we are now struggling and are resolved to triumph, is, *No more slave territory—no more slave States.* I am enlisted in this service, and pledged, so far as my humble efforts go, to secure this result. And whatever the event may be, or whatever others may do, I am resolved faithfully and fearlessly to perform my duty. But, Mr. Chairman, I have been tempted into this digression, which has detained me too long, and from which I hasten to return, by the example of others. If the wholesome rules of proceeding which we have adopted were strictly enforced, and the arguments confined to the question properly before us, this debate, now continued for more than four months, would have been, long since, brought to a close, and California have now been a member of this Union. But the course pursued here is different, and it is not, I must confess, without its advantages. For if the stock of ideas which an honorable member has been industriously treasuring up for a Congressional speech upon the subject before the Committee happens to fail and become exhausted before the expiration of the hour, he is not obliged to take his seat, but may pass to any other topic, and thus fill up his time. As I have enjoyed, however, the benefit of the departure, in common with others, I will not complain of it.

The path of duty, it seems to me, is plain before us. We should admit California at once and without delay. It would be no party, no sectional triumph. The various and complicated interests of this widely-extended country are suffering for the needful legislation. The business before us has been wholly arrested. We are now within a few days of the close of the current fiscal year, and the most important appropriations for the expenses of the Government are not yet reported to this House. Let us dismiss all the schemes of uniting California with any other subject, and making her admission dependent on the merits of other and distinct questions of legislation. Such a course would be unjustifiable and without precedent, and cannot fail of producing mischievous results. Slavery must not exact anything of us as an equivalent for the admission of a new State into the Confederacy. We have nothing to give. We have no compromises to make. We might, it is true, surrender our principles, if others were not interested in their preservation.

But we do not act for ourselves alone—we are the agents, the representatives of others; and beyond the scope of our delegated powers, we have no authority to act. And I am sure, sir, among the powers with which a confiding and generous constitu-

found that would justify us in surrendering an inch of free soil to slavery. And such a surrender is one of the great objects of the scheme of compromise now pending in the other end of this Capitol. I am opposed to it, and a large majority of the American people, I have no doubt, repudiate it. Slave States have been admitted into the Union, as a matter of course, and no factious opposition, which the love of freedom would seem to invite, and would be ready to justify, was ever made to it. But a free State must be made to do homage to the "peculiar institution," and compelled to bear its burdens, after renouncing all connection with it, before coming into the Union. The equilibrium, we are told, between the free and slave States must be preserved.

But this, sir, *cannot*—it *ought* not to be done; the days of our disgraceful submission and servitude to slavery are ended. We are resolved to render to it no more aids, or reliefs, or *primer seisins*, or submit to any other exaction to purchase or secure for California her constitutional rights as an independent State. The popular voice demands her instant and unconditional admission, and bids us cease our profitless discussions, and proceed with the public business, now so long and so ruinously delayed. Let this be done—and I trust it will without delay—and sectional animosities, so fruitful of mischief, would no longer exist among us, and peace and harmony be again restored to our councils.

LIBERTY ALMANAC FOR 1851.

THE *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* have just published another stereotyped Almanac, for the coming year, with special reference to the great question of Slavery at the present time, and in the expectation that the friends of the cause throughout the country will co-operate in diffusing extensively the valuable statistical and reading matter it contains. Considering the expense at which the Almanac has been prepared, the low price at which it is sold, and the increased facilities for forwarding it, by express or otherwise, from New York, over the whole of the Northern States, it is confidently expected that the circulation this year will greatly exceed that of any previous year. So much useful matter cannot well be circulated at less expense.

The Almanac is handsomely printed, on finer paper than usual, with well-executed wood engravings, prepared expressly for it, *illustrating* the escape of Henry Box Brown, a scene at Washington, and the kneeling Slave Mother. Besides the *Calendar*, which is equal in all respects to that of the American Tract Society's Almanac for 1851, and the Eclipses, Cycles, &c., &c., the Almanac contains a variety of interesting and valuable reading and statistical articles of an anti-slavery character, selected and original. The prices will be as follows:

For one thousand copies	$20 00
For one hundred copies	3 50
For one dozen copies	40
For a single copy	05

The friends of the cause are earnestly invited to co-operate in giving a wide circulation to the Almanac, and to send their orders at an early day for a liberal supply. It is suggested that they make arrangements with merchants in their neighborhood, before visiting New York, to have a few hundred Almanacs packed with their goods. In this way the cost of transportation will be very small. If no such opportunity offers, the owners of expresses are now more reasonable in their charges than heretofore. This mode of conveyance is better than the post office, as *every Almanac* sent by mail, whatever the distance, costs two and a half cents.

A Catalogue of most of the Publications for sale at the Depository is annexed, from which selections can be made; and books and pamphlets can be sent with the Almanacs, without much, if any, additional expense.

Orders, *enclosing the money*, in bank notes or post office stamps, should be addressed to

WILLIAM HARNED, *Agent*,
Aug 8—6t No. 61 John street, New York City.

PHYSO-MEDICAL COLLEGE, CINCINNATI, O.

FACULTY.	*Tickets.*
A Curtis, M. D., Professor of Institutes or Principles of Medicine	$12 00
J. Courtney, M. D., Professor of Practical Medicine and Obstetrics	12 00
E. H. Stockwell, M. D., Professor of Anatomy and Physiology	12 00
E. M. Parritt, M. D., Professor of Chemistry and Medical Jurisprudence	12 00
J. Brown, M. D., Professor of Botany, Materia Medica, Pharmacy, and Therapeutics	12 00
J. A. Powers, M. D., Professor of Surgery	12 00
E. H. Stockwell, M. D., Demonstrator of Anatomy	5 00

J. BROWN, *Dean*

WINTER SESSION OF 1850

Will commence on the first Monday of November, and continue seventeen weeks, (the last week devoted to the candidates for graduation.) The expense of tickets, $72; matriculation, $3; graduation, $20. Board, from $2 to $3 per week.

One hundred dollars, in advance, will secure a certificate that will entitle the purchaser (or his assignee) to as many courses of lectures as he may require for graduation; or it will entitle the subscriber to a share in the College ground and buildings. Aug 1—1m

BUCHANAN'S JOURNAL OF MAN,

Edited and published by Dr. J. R. Buchanan, Professor of Physiology and Institutes of Medicine in the Eclectic Medical Institute* of Cincinnati.

THIS Journal is devoted to the *entire science of man*, and especially to recent and wonderful discoveries in Phrenology, Physiology, Psychology, and other anthropological sciences. Vol. I, terminating in June, 1850, comprises 620 pages, and eight engravings—price $2. Vol. II, commencing in July, will be published in monthly numbers of 32 pages, at $1 per annum, in advance. The editor of this Journal is the original discoverer of the impressibility of the brain, and of many of its functions undiscovered by Gall or Spurzheim. His lectures in the Institute elicited from his class the following expression:

"While therefore we gratefully accord distinguished honor to the labors of Gall and his coadjutors, we do at the same time regard the contributions which have been made to Anthropology by Dr. Buchanan as far exceeding those of his predecessors."

Many similar statements, from classes and committees of investigation, might be adduced. The readers of the Journal speak of its contents in enthusiastic language, and the venerable Professor Caldwell, the father of Phrenology in America, as well as its most distinguished and learned champion, says of the Journal:

"The knowledge your Journal contains is of an elevated, rare, and refined order, and a valuable character. At present, however, you are in advance of the age."

Specimen numbers of the Journal will be sent gratuitously, by addressing the editor, post paid.

* The Eclectic Medical Institute is the principal Medical College of Cincinnati, and is one of the seven leading medical schools of America. Its instruction is remarkable for its liberal and comprehensive scope. July 18—1m

SAND'S SARSAPARILLA,

In Quart Bottles.

FOR purifying the blood, and for the cure of *Scrofula, Rheumatism, Stubborn Ulcers, Dyspepsia, Salt Rheum, Fever Sores, Erysipelas, Pimples, Biles, Mercurial Diseases, Cutaneous Eruptions, Liver Complaint, Bronchitis, Consumption, Female Complaints, Loss of Appetite, General Debility, &c.*

In this preparation we have all the restorative properties of the root, combined and concentrated in their utmost strength and efficacy. Experiments were made in the manufacture of this medicine, until it was found it could not be improved. Accordingly, we find it resorted to almost universally in cases of scrofula, liver diseases, salt rheum, general prostration of the vital powers, and all those tormenting diseases of the skin, so trying to the patience and injurious to the health. It is a tonic aperient, and disinfectant. It acts simultaneously upon the *stomach*, the *circulation*, and the *bowels*; and thus three processes, which are ordinarily the result of *three* different kinds of medicine, are carried on at the same time, through the instrumentality of *this one* remedial agent. There are many ways of relieving pain for the time being, but there is only one way of removing disease. No palliative, no anodyne, no topical application, will remove it. It must be attacked at its source, in the fluids of the body, which convey the poison to the localities where it is developed in inflammation, sores, ulcers, tumors, abscesses, glandular swellings, &c., as the case may be.

These fluids must be reached, acted upon, purified, by some powerful agent. Such an agent is *Sand's Sarsaparilla*, which gently stimulates while it disinfects and expels from the stomach and bowels all that is irritating, and at the same time restores their vigor and tone. Its great merit is that it meets and *neutralizes* the active principle of disease itself, and when that is gone, the symptoms necessarily disappear. The rapidity with which the patient recovers health and strength under this triple influence is surprising. Each new case in which it is applied furnishes in the result a new certificate of its excellence; and we have only to point to the accumulated testimony of multitudes who have experienced its effects, to convince incredulity itself of its real value.

Lieutenant Miller, of the army, has kindly sent us the following letter from California:

MONTEREY, JANUARY 18, 1850.

Messrs. A. B. & D. Sands:

GENTLEMEN: I beg leave to add my testimony in favor of your invaluable medicine, hoping it may lead some other unfortunate beings to try its effects, and that they may be benefited as I have been.

I arrived here from the United States by the overland route, about the 1st of October last. A few days after, I was attacked with a very disagreeable eruption of the skin, which my physician could not cure. I happened to find your Sarsaparilla in a store in this place, and remembering the popularity of the medicine at home, I purchased three bottles, which had the desired effect of removing my difficulty entirely. With high regards, yours, &c.,

J. H. MILLER, U. S. A.

Here is another, nearer home:

NEW YORK, JANUARY 8, 1850.

Messrs. Sands:

GENTLEMEN: I have great pleasure in acknowledging to you the great benefit I have received from the use of your Sarsaparilla. A subject of pulmonary disease, I made a voyage to Europe, but while there continued to be afflicted. A few weeks after my return, I was seized with a violent hemorrhage of the lungs, and from the debility and great prostration of strength that followed, with the protracted difficulty of respiration, I am entirely relieved by the use of your Sarsaparilla, which I consider a most important and truly valuable discovery in the healing art. I feel that I have not for fourteen years enjoyed so good health as at present. Very gratefully, yours,

S. E. SAYMORE.

Read the following, from

NEW ORLEANS, NOVEMBER 12, 1849.

Messrs. Sands:

GENTLEMEN: I take the liberty of sending you a letter which may be of importance to those who are suffering as I have done. I received great benefit from your Sarsaparilla, having been cured of a malady after suffering six years. I hereby cheerfully certify to the good effect of your medicine, and I hope God will reward you for all the good you have done. A chronic cough had tormented me day and night, and repeated attacks of fever induced me to believe that I should die with consumption. One day, while suffering a violent attack of burning fever, a friend persuaded me to try your incomparable medicine, but, to tell the truth, I had no confidence in it. I finally purchased a bottle and by its use and the help of God I was restored to better health than I had enjoyed for six years. I cannot but bless the author of this admirable medicine.

With great respect, I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant, FERMIN GROUPAZ.

Prepared and sold, wholesale and retail, by *A. B. & D. SANDS*, Druggists and Chemists, 100 Fulton street, corner of William, New York. Sold also by Druggists generally throughout the United States and Canadas. Price $1 per bottle; six bottles for $5. Aug. 8—3m

EXCHANGE BANK OF R. W. LATHAM & CO.,

Washington, D. C.,

DEALS in checks, drafts, acceptances, promissory notes, bank notes, and coin.

BANK NOTES.

Notes on all solvent banks in the United States bought and sold at the best prices.

DRAFTS, NOTES, AND BILLS,

In Washington and Georgetown, collected, and remittances promptly made, in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, or Boston funds, at a charge of one-quarter per cent.

COLLECTIONS

Made in all the principal cities of the Union, on the most favorable terms.

EXCHANGE.

Bills of exchange and bank checks on most of the principal cities of the Union bought and sold at the best rates.

CINCINNATI NATIONAL ERA AGENCY,

No. 239 Main street, a few doors below 6th, west side.

THE National Era is delivered by a carrier in any part of the city at $2 50 a year, *free of postage*. Those who prefer it can be supplied by the month, at 25 cents per month. Single copies can also be had. Price by mail, $2 per year.

Subscriptions also received for the Friend of Youth, edited by Mrs. M. L. Bailey, *free of postage*, delivered in any part of the city, at 75 cents a year, or 50 cents by mail.

Subscriptions and advertisements received, and any business connected with these papers attended to, by

JOHN KIRMAN,
S. N. PEIRCE,
Aug. 1. *Agents for National Era.*

PARKEVILLE HYDROPATHIC INSTITUTE.

AT a meeting of the Board of Managers of the Parkeville Hydropathic Institute, held Fifth month 15th, 1850, Joseph A Weder, M. D., was unanimously elected *Resident Physician* in the place of Dr. Dexter, resigned.

Having made various improvements, this Institute is now prepared to receive an additional number of patients; and from Dr. Weder's well-known skill and *practical experience* in Europe, (acquired under Vincenz Preissnitz, the founder of the Hydropathic system,) and for several years past *in this country*, and particularly in the city of Philadelphia, (where he has had many patients,) the Managers believe the afflicted will find him an able and an attentive physician.

The domestic department being under the charge of a Steward and Matron, will enable the Doctor to devote to the patients whatever time may be necessary.

Application for admission to be made to

SAMUEL WEBB, *Secretary*.

Office No. 58 South Fourth street, residence No. 16 Logan square, Philadelphia.

General Description of the Parkeville Hydropathic Institute.

The main building is three stories high, standing back from the street about one hundred feet, with a semicircular grass plot in front, and contains thirty to forty rooms. The grounds around the house are tastefully *laid out* with walks and planted with trees, shrubs, &c. On the left of the entrance to these grounds is a cottage containing four rooms, used by male patients as a bathing house, with every convenience for "packing," bathing, &c.; on the right of the entrance, about two hundred feet distant, stands a similar cottage, used by the ladies for similar purposes.

In the rear of the Institute, at the distance of one hundred feet, are three other cottages, some eighty feet apart. One of these is the laundry, with a hydrant at the door; the other two are occupied by the servants.

The hydrant water is introduced into these cottages as well as into the main building, and all the waste water carried off by drains under ground.

THE WATER WORKS

Consist of a circular stone building, standing on the brow of a hill, surmounted by a large cedar reservoir containing five hundred barrels, brought from a never-failing spring of pure cold water in the side of the hill, by "a hydraulic ram," a self-acting machine of cast iron, that is kept constantly going, night and day, by the descent of the water from the spring. The surplus water is carried from the reservoir to a fountain in the water works yard surrounded by weeping willows. In the first story of the water works is a circular room, containing the douche bath, which is a stream falling from a height of about thirty feet, and can be varied in size from half an inch to an inch and a half in diameter Adjoining the douche room is a dressing room, with marble tables, &c.; the *rising douche* (for the cure of piles, &c.) is one of the most complete contrivances of the kind, being entirely under the control of the patient using the same.

There are many other appliances, which can be better understood by a personal examination. May 30.

JAMES BIRNEY AND CHARLES C. PEIRCE,

Cincinnati.

BIRNEY & PEIRCE, *Attorneys at Law and Notaries Public.*

JAMES BIRNEY, commissioned to take depositions, acknowledgment of deeds, and to administer oaths and affirmations, by appointment of the Governors of

Alabama
Illinois
Kentucky
Missouri
New York
Pennsylvania
Tennessee
Texas
Connecticut
Indiana
Louisiana
Mississippi
New Hampshire
Rhode Island
Vermont
Maryland
Delaware
Iowa
Michigan
Maine
North Carolina
South Carolina
Wisconsin.

Special attention given to collections and to the taking of depositions.

Office, No. 114 Main street. July 25.

WATSON & RENWICK, WASHINGTON, D. C.,

AGENTS *for procuring Patents in the United States and foreign countries.*

They prepare Specifications and Drawings of new inventions, and transact all business connected with their profession.

They will review and attend to the reconsideration of those applications which have been rejected by the Commissioner of Patents, either on account of a defective specification and drawing, or the presentation of an improper claim.

Persons residing at a distance may procure all necessary information respecting the patentability of their inventions, may have their applications for patents made in proper form, and may obtain patents, without incurring the expense of a personal attendance at Washington, by writing to the subscribers.

Models can be safely sent to us by the Expresses

Rough sketches and descriptions can be sent by mail.

Letters must be post paid.

Office on F street, opposite the Patent Office.

P. H. WATSON.
July 18. E. S. RENWICK.

LIGHT'S LITERARY AGENCY,

No. 3 Cornhill, Boston.

ESTABLISHED to aid the circulation of all *USEFUL PUBLICATIONS* issued in the United States Orders for Books or Periodicals executed promptly, and at the most reasonable rates.

THE NATIONAL ERA comes from Washington to this Agency by Express, and is delivered by carriers in any part of the city proper, at $2.75 a year, *free of postage*; single copies 6 1-4 cents Price, by mail, $2.

THE FRIEND OF YOUTH, a new and attractive monthly journal for Youth, edited by Mrs BAILEY, and published at Washington, also comes by Express to this Agency. Price, delivered in Boston, *free of postage*, 75 cents a year; by mail, 50 cents.

June 6. G. W. LIGHT & CO.

OLD DOCTOR JACOB TOWNSEND,

THE ORIGINAL DISCOVERER OF

THE GENUINE TOWNSEND SARSAPARILLA.

OLD Dr. Townsend is now about *seventy years* of age, and has long been known as the Author and Discoverer of the genuine original "*Townsend Sarsaparilla*." Being poor, he was compelled to limit its manufacture, by which means it has been kept out of market, and the sales circumscribed to those only who had proved its worth and known its value. It had reached the ears of many, nevertheless, as those persons who had been healed of sore diseases, and saved from death, proclaimed its excellence and wonderful healing power. This

Grand and Unequalled Preparation

is manufactured on the largest scale, and is called for throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Unlike young S. P. Townsend's, it improves with age, and never changes, but for the better; because it is prepared on scientific principles, by a scientific man. The highest knowledge of Chemistry, and the latest discoveries of the Art, have all been brought into requisition in the manufacture of the *Old Doctor's Sarsaparilla*. The Sarsaparilla root, it is well known to medical men, contains many medicinal properties, and some properties which are inert or useless; and others, which, if retained in preparing it for use, produce fermentation and *acid*, which is injurious to the system. Some of the properties of Sarsaparilla are so volatile, that they entirely evaporate and are lost in the preparation, if they are not preserved by a scientific process, known only to those experienced in its manufacture. Moreover, these volatile principles, which fly off in vapor, or as an exhalation, under heat, are the very essential medical properties of the root, which give to it all its value. The

Genuine Old Dr. Jacob Townsend's Sarsaparilla

is so prepared, that all the inert properties of the Sarsaparilla root are first removed, everything capable of becoming acid or of fermentation is extracted and rejected; then every particle of medical virtue is secured in a pure and concentrated form; and thus it is rendered incapable of losing any of its valuable and healing properties. Prepared in this way, it is made the most powerful agent in the

Cure of Innumerable Diseases.

Hence the reason why we hear commendations on every side, in its favor, by men, women, and children We find it doing wonders in the cure of *Consumption, Dyspepsia*, and *Liver Complaint*, and in *Rheumatism, Scrofula*, and *Piles, Costiveness*, all *Cutaneous Eruptions, Pimples, Blotches*, and all affections arising from

Impurity of the Blood.

It possesses a marvellous efficacy in all complaints arising from indigestion, from acidity of the stomach, from unequal circulation, determination of blood to the head, palpitation of the heart, cold feet and cold hands, cold chills and hot flashes over the body. It has not had its equal in coughs and colds, and promotes easy expectoration and gentle perspiration, relaxing stricture of the lungs, *throat*, and every other part.

But in nothing is its excellence more manifestly seen and acknowledged than in all kinds and stages of

Female Complaints.

It works wonders in cases of *fluor albus* or whites, falling of the womb, obstructed, suppressed, or painful menses, irregularity of the menstrual periods, and the like; and effectual in curing all forms of the kidney disease.

By removing obstructions, and regulating the general system, it gives tone and strength to the whole body, and cures all forms of

Nervous Diseases and Debility,

and thus prevents or relieves a great variety of other diseases, as spinal irritation, neuralgia, St. Vitus dance, swooning, epileptic fits, convulsions, &c.

Is not this, then,

The Medicine you Pre-eminently Need?

But can any of these things be said of S. P. Townsend's inferior article? This young man's liquid is not to be

Compared with the Old Dr.'s,

because of one *Grand Fact*, that the one is *Incapable of Deterioration* and

Never Spoils,

while the other does; it sours, ferments, and blows the bottles containing it into fragments; the sour, acid liquid exploding and damaging other goods! Must not this horrible compound be poisonous to the system? What! put acid into a system already diseased with acid! What causes dyspepsia but acid? Do we not all know, that when food sours in our stomachs, what mischief it produces!—flatulence, heartburn, palpitation of the heart, liver complaint diarrhœa, dysentery, colic, and corruption of the blood? What is scrofula but an acid humor in the body? What produces all the humors which bring on eruptions of the skin, scald head, salt rheum, erysipelas, white swelling, fever-sores, and all ulcerations, internal and external? It is nothing under heaven but an acid substance, which sours and thus *spoils all the* fluids of the body, more or less. What causes rheumatism but a sour, acid fluid, which insinuates itself between the joints and elsewhere, irritating and inflaming the tender and delicate tissues upon which it acts? So of nervous diseases, of impurity of the blood, of deranged circulations, and nearly all the ailments which afflict human nature.

Now, is it not horrible to make and sell, and infinitely worse to use, this

Souring, Fermenting, Acid "Compound" of S. P. Townsend!

and yet he would fain have it understood that Old Dr. Jacob Townsend's *Genuine Original Sarsaparilla* is an *Imitation* of his inferior preparation!!

Heaven forbid that we should deal in an article which would bear the *most distant* resemblance to S. P. Townsend's article! and which should bring down upon the Old Dr. such a mountain load of complaints and criminations from Agents who have sold, and purchasers who have used S. P. Townsend's *Fermenting Compound*.

We wish it understood, because it is the *absolute truth*, that S. P. Townsend's article and Old Dr. Jacob Townsend's Sarsaparilla are heaven wide apart, and infinitely dissimilar; that they are unlike in every particular, having not one single thing in common.

As S. P. Townsend is no doctor, and never was, is no chemist, no pharmaceutist—knows no more of medicine or disease than any other common, unscientific, unprofessional man—what guarantee can the public have that they are receiving a genuine scientific medicine, containing all the virtues of the articles used in preparing it, and which are incapable of changes which might render them the *agents of disease*, instead of health?

It is to arrest frauds upon the unfortunate, to pour balm into wounded humanity, to kindle hope in the despairing bosom, to restore health and bloom and vigor into the crushed and broken, and to banish infirmity—that OLD DR. JACOB TOWNSEND has *sought* and *found* the opportunity and means to bring his

Grand, Universal, Concentrated Remedy,

within the reach, and to the knowledge, of all who need it, that they may learn and know, by joyful experience, its

Transcendent Power to Heal!

☞ For sale in Washington City by—
J. F. Callan Z. D. & W. H. Gilman